MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ASHLEY

Class CB357

Book .A8

Copyright No.

COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

A TEXTBOOK

FOR

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY

ROSCOE LEWIS ASHLEY

AUTHOR OF

"EARLY EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION"

"AMERICAN HISTORY," "THE NEW CIVICS"

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1918

All rights reserved

Copyright, 1918,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

MAR 21 1918

©CLA494170

no 1

Rec'd. Rev. May 17/32

PREFACE

The following chapters include the first half of a textbook on the history of "Modern European Civilization" during the last three centuries. The volume is intended for the second year of the new two year course in European history. In accordance with the preferences expressed by a majority of high school teachers who were consulted, the second year's work begins with the conflict between the Stuart kings of England and Parliament in the early sixteenth century. This division, first proposed in connection with the "Early European Civilization," seems now to have been accepted almost universally by other textbook writers and by a majority of those schools which formerly favored some other division between the first and second year's work.

In common with "Early European Civilization" this book puts stress upon great movements rather than upon minor historical changes, however interesting the latter may be. It aims to give a larger amount of material on social and economic conditions and on social and economic changes than any similar textbook. Since the main purpose of both books is to explain the present through a study of the past, it treats in considerable detail those changes which are most closely associated with the most important institutions in Europe at the present time. Because a student of European history who has already devoted a year to the study of early European history is capable of doing more advanced work than was possible in his first year, this book has been made more difficult. Because it does not cover

the great periods of time included within the first volume of the series, it is possible to treat many topics in a much more complete way than was either possible or desirable in "Early European Civilization." Those characteristics of style and treatment, however, which distinguished "Early European Civilization" have been retained, being modified only so far as the character of the subject, the briefer period of time covered, and the greater maturity of the student have made possible. The remaining chapters of the book will be published the latter part of this year in time for use the second semester of the school year, 1918–9.

The author wishes to thank those who have aided him in any way in the preparation of this book. At this time he will express his indebtedness only to his colleague, Miss Leonora Schopbach of the Pasadena High School, who has given him help continually, and to Professor Frederic A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, who has read the manuscript of the volume and made many valuable suggestions.

Pasadena, Cal.
Jan. 1918.

CONTENTS

(BY CHAPTERS AND TOPICS)

I. Europe in the Early Seventeenth Century

SECTION		PAGE
1.	Political Europe	1
6.	Lords and Peasants	5
10.	Business and the Towns	9
18.	Religious and Social Conditions	17

PART I

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM (1603–1789)

II. England (1603–1760)

25.	The Early Stuarts and Parliament (1603–1635)	31
30.	Puritan Revolution and Restoration (1635–1688)	37
37.	Constitutional Government (1688–1760)	42
44.	Social Conditions in England, Early Eighteenth Century	49

III. Absolutism on the Continent of Europe

53.	The Age of Louis XIV	64
60.	The Rise of Russia	70
66.	The Rise of Prussia	77

IV. Struggle for Colonial and Commercial Empire

72.	Contest for Atlantic Trade before 1700	86
77.	English and French Colonies in the XVII Century	91
83.	Commercial Wars between England and France	99
89.	England and America, 1763–1789	105

V. Reform

94.	Beginnings of Modern Treatment of Crime	117
99.	Social and Religious Changes	122
103.	Reform Philosophers	126
107.	The Enlightened Despots	129

PART II

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION (1789–1849)

VI. The French Revolution

111.	The Old Régime in France	140
120.	Attempted Reform in France	147
123.	The Early Revolutions	150
134.	The French Republic	158

VII. Napoleon

PAGE
142. Napoleon Becomes Master of France 172
146. Napoleon in War and Peace (1802–1806) 176
151. Triumph and Downfall of Napoleon 183

VIII. Reconstruction and Reaction (1800–1830)

160. The Reorganization of Germany 197
166. The Reconstruction of Europe (1789–1815) 204
170. Reaction and Intervention (1815–1830) 208

IX. The Economic Revolution in England

178. England before the Industrial Revolution 222
183. The Agrarian Revolution 228
187. The Industrial Revolution 231
193. Effects of Economic Changes 237
196. Influence of the Economic Revolution on England as a World Power 241

X. Economic Revolution on the Continent

199. The Peasant and His Land 248
205. Industry and Commerce 253
210. Social Progress on the Continent 259

XI. Political Revolutions (1830–1849)

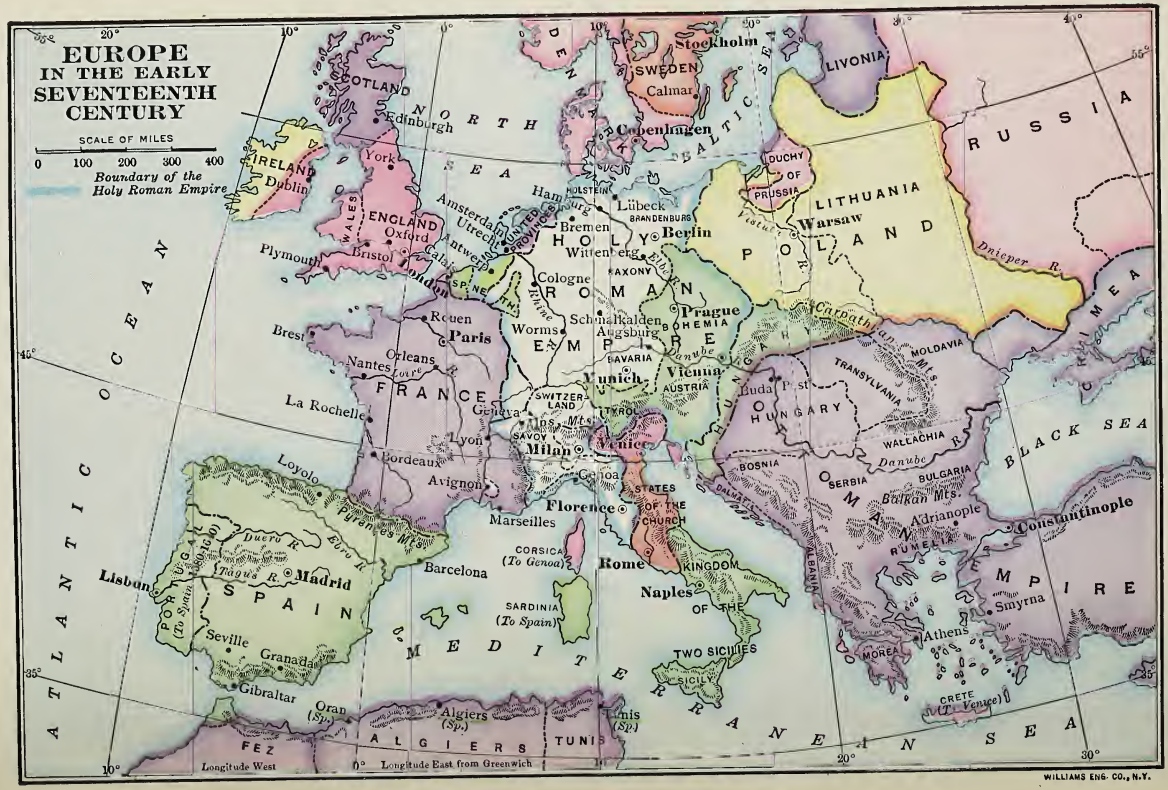
215. France (1815–1848) 267
221. Revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe 274
228. Italy (1830–1849) 282
231. Importance of European Revolutions 285

PART III

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1849–1918)

XII. National Unity (1849–1871)

235. The Unification of Italy 295
241. The Unification of Germany (to 1866) 302
248. The Second French Empire and German Unity 312



WILLIAMS ENG. CO., N.Y.

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

EUROPE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Political Europe

1. The Map of Europe. — A comparison of a map of Europe in 1600 with one of that continent in 1914 shows more similarities than differences. *Western Europe* was much the same then as now, although at that time England and Scotland were still separate kingdoms and Ireland had not yet been united with them to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Comparisons, 1600 and 1914. Western Europe.

In *central* and southeastern *Europe* we find that great changes have taken place. Three centuries ago the center of Europe was occupied by the huge, loosely united feudal state generally known as the Holy Roman Empire. What is now the kingdom of Italy was then a group of separate states, two of which, Venice and Genoa, were still republics. In east-central Europe there were two states, Lith-u-a′ni-a and the kingdom of Poland, which no longer appear upon the map as separate countries.

Central Europe.

The Turks controlled all *southeastern Europe* in the early seventeenth century. The map of that day did not show any separate states or principalities corresponding to Roumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, since the people of all those countries as well as most of Hungary and southern Russia were under Turkish rule.

Southeastern Europe.

E. E. C. = Ashley, *Early European Civilization.*

Northern and eastern Europe.

In *northern* and *eastern Europe* we find the same names as to-day but a somewhat different division of territory. The kingdom of Sweden then included Finland, now a part of Russia. The Russia of that day governed about three fourths of the area in Europe that Russia did in 1914. Into Asia it covered only a small part of the great distance to the Pacific Ocean and the Persian gulf.

Relation of noble to king in the Middle Ages.

2. Historical Development of the Absolute Monarchies. — During the centuries preceding the Renaissance and the Reformation, central and western Europe was divided into a number of areas, each of which was ruled by a king. No one of these kings was an absolute monarch, but usually each was the most important noble of his country. He could call upon the other nobles to furnish him soldiers in time of war and give him necessary help in other ways. These nobles were free to render this service to the king or not as they pleased. Within their own domains therefore the great nobles of these countries ruled rather than the king.[1]

Beginnings of the monarchies.

During the latter part of the Middle Ages, especially in France and England, the kings tried to break down the authority of the nobles and to make themselves more powerful. Not until about 1450, however, did they, in France, England, and Spain, finally gain such power that they rather than the nobles actually ruled. In the three quarters of a century preceding the Protestant Reformation, Louis XI in France, Henry VII in England, and Ferdinand I in Spain really *united their dominions and consolidated the royal authority*.[2]

Divine right of monarchs in France and England (XVII Century).

The successors of these men in France and Spain added continually to their power until they became *absolute monarchs*. In France this story belongs rather to the seventeenth century than to the preceding epoch. With the death of Elizabeth, the English Tudor house came to

[1] E. E. C., §§ 478–479. [2] E. E. C., §§ 646–650.

an end, and a new line of monarchs, the Stuarts, came to the throne. The struggle between the Stuarts to maintain their divine right to rule and the people, who demanded some share in the government, is the story of England in the seventeenth century.

3. Absolutism and Liberty on the Continent. — It must not be imagined that, because we call these monarchs absolute, they really were all-powerful. To be sure, they did not need to call upon representatives of the nobles and the townsmen to help them make the laws; instead they contented themselves with issuing proclamations directly or through their councils. Their rule was not so much absolute, however, as it was arbitrary, because neither noble nor townsmen nor peasant was free from *arbitrary interference* by the king and his agents.

Arbitrary rather than absolute rule of the kings.

The authority of the absolute monarchs was limited in part, especially in France and Spain, by the *special privileges* enjoyed by the provinces of their kingdoms.[1] In the seventeenth century many cities also still had many rights which they had gained in the Middle Ages. Even smaller villages were allowed a share in their own government which reminds us of the medieval English manor. We can see from this brief summary that, even if the common people were free, the centralized and absolute government of the king left them few rights in addition to those exercised by the self-governing cities or communes.

Special privileges of provinces, towns, and villages.

4. English Central Government. — Since the United States grew out of English colonies, the government of which in turn was influenced by the central and local

Arbitrary rule of the Tudors through Parliament and the Privy Council.

[1] When the different duchies, counties, and other provinces had been united into countries by the kings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these provinces were allowed to retain a large number of customs and privileges. The provincial privileges were survivals of old rights of government enjoyed by these principalities when the nobles acknowledged their king not as a sovereign, but simply as an overlord. (Cf. § 113.)

governments of the mother country, we must study especially the government of England in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although the *monarch* really ruled England, the king or queen governed through the *Parliament* and the Privy Council, for under the Tudors, who ruled until 1603, these bodies were the tools of the monarchs. Henry VIII and Elizabeth, wishing to govern arbitrarily, had dominated Parliament; usually they had persuaded Parliament to do as they desired until the later years of Elizabeth's reign. The Stuart kings[1] found that Parliament was very far from being the tool that it had been for Henry VIII or Elizabeth.

Local government in England (1600).

5. Local Government and Individual Liberty in England. — In the local government of England the local aristocracy had considerable influence. The *counties* were ruled by justices of the peace, selected from the landed aristocracy by the king. The smaller districts, the *parishes*, had an assembly of rate-payers to levy taxes and elect parish officers, the only important local self-government of Tudor England.[2]

"Rights" of Englishmen."

Although Englishmen had more liberties than people on the Continent, the term did not mean very much in 1600, in spite of Magna Carta and the system of jury trial. But in time, more rights were gained by Englishmen.[3]

[1] See Chapter II.

[2] The county system was transplanted bodily to Virginia and to some other southern colonies. The parish meeting was modified by the Puritans in New England and survives in the New England town meeting.

[3] When the colonists later gained a larger share of self-government, it was worth while to claim these rights which had been guaranteed by the colonial charters. For these reasons much was said in America about the "rights of Englishmen" in the stirring years before our Revolutionary War.

It is interesting to notice that out of the semi-medieval English conditions in 1600 there was developed in *England*, within a century, a political revolution, that of 1688, which made England a comparatively modern country, politically, and that there occurred among Englishmen

Lords and Peasants

6. Position and Privileges of the Nobles. — In *central and eastern Europe* the nobles had practically absolute control over the lives and property of the people on their estates; most of the laws were made by them, although occasionally the customs of the localities limited these powers and gave the villeins and even the serfs some rights. When a peasant was accused of an offense, he was tried in the court of the noble. Even if he were condemned to die, he might not appeal to his king or to a higher court. The lord had also the right to levy taxes and to collect other charges from his people and from travelers.

Political power of the nobles.

Before the close of the Middle Ages the lords in *France* and *England* had lost their right to levy and collect taxes and to dispense justice as they pleased,[1] but the *English squire* of that day was of course the big man of his village. He owned or controlled most of the land on which the village stood and which his tenant cultivated. The church had probably been built by his predecessors, and he had the right to appoint the curate of the parish. He was expected and usually was willing to attend divine service, even though he slept through most of it. When the services were over, he was allowed to leave the chapel first, his people uncovering and courtesying before him. He spent most of his time on his own estate, rarely traveling abroad, and occasionally entertaining his friends with fox hunting or some similar sport. He had the right to hold any county office, and if he were appointed

The old-fashioned English squire.

in *America*, within a century and three quarters, a greater revolution which represents even more perfectly the national democracy of the modern world.

[1] Before the beginning of the seventeenth century there were few lords in either England or France who could decide cases even between tenants on their own estates and make that decision final if either tenant wished to carry the case to the next higher court, which in England usually was presided over by justices of the peace.

as justice of the peace, could not refuse although the position carried no salary. He might even be honored by election to Parliament by the voters of the county in which he lived.

Social position of the greater French nobles.

The *French* monarchs, particularly from the time of Francis I and Henry IV, gained a good many of the political rights of the nobles. They allowed the lords who had formerly ruled their local estates to build magnificent châteaux, in which they gave lavish entertainments, or to attend those given by the king. Louis XIV carried this idea very much farther (§ 55).

The *open field* system of strips.

7. Agriculture and Villeinage. — In the seventeenth century, as in the Middle Ages, most people lived in *villages* on the estates of the lords and cultivated the surrounding fields. It was customary to divide the cultivated land into *three great fields*. In any year one of these would be planted to wheat, another to barley, and the third would remain uncultivated. The next year each field would be used for a different purpose. Each of these large fields in turn was subdivided into *strips*, which were very much longer than they were wide and contained about an acre apiece. About one third of the strips probably belonged to the noble.

Villeins and serfs. Obligations of villeins.

The peasants who were practically free were called *villeins;* they usually had the right to cultivate about thirty acres in strips widely separated, possibly ten in each field. The villeins owed a fixed amount of work to the lord, usually two or three days a week with additional time at planting season and harvest, together with such payments as a number of chickens, on certain days of the year. Other peasants were serfs who were bought and sold with the land. Each serf family had its own cottage and garden with four or five acre strips in addition.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century villeinage had practically disappeared from *England*. Those farm-

ers who remained on the estates of the nobles usually cultivated separate strips in open fields in common with their neighbors, and they paid for this land a very much higher rent than their great-grandfathers had been obliged to pay.[1] Because of the high rents and other agrarian changes a great many of the former tenants had moved to the cities, attracted also by the business opportunities of the growing towns.[2]

The English tenant farmer.

8. Serfdom. — *In eastern, central, and southern Europe and in the Spanish peninsula practically all peasants were still serfs.* In fact, the ancestors of these people had been serfs during the Middle Ages.

The lot of the serf was an unhappy one. He was not a slave, for he could not be sold except with the land, but he was in no real sense free, since he must spend practically his whole time working for the lord, such days and in such ways as the noble demanded. To be sure he was allowed some time for cultivating his own strips of land, but he was likely to be called upon by the noble to plow or to weed, or to cut or thresh grain, at a time when he should have been doing those things for himself. Moreover, in eastern Germany, in Russia, in Austria, and to some extent in southern Europe, the boys and girls of serf families were compelled to spend a number of years in the house of the noble doing menial work, often without pay of any kind.

Extent of serfdom on the Continent.

Conditions of the serfs.

9. Country Life. — As stated above, the people lived in small villages, usually at the foot of the hill below the manor house of the lord. Because it had been impossible in the Middle Ages for people to live on scattered farms

[1] E. E. C., §§ 664, 720.

[2] In France the villein did not become a free man as in England, nor was he able usually to pay for his land in money. Later we shall study rather carefully the condition of the French peasants of the late eighteenth century (§§ 119, 199), and the changes in a century and a half before that time were not important.

Life in villages except for cottars.

without great danger from marauders, there were comparatively few scattered dwellings except those of "squatters," who had built huts upon the waste lands of the estates. In England these "cottars" were permitted, by a law of Elizabeth, to have not more than four acres of land.

Houses and their furniture.

The rest of the "country" people occupied huts or cottages on the village street, each cottage having its own garden plot. The homes were, of course, less crude than those occupied by the forefathers of these people in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, they were small, not very clean and rather dark, since glass was seldom or never found in the windows. Dirt floors were still common and rushes were used to a considerable extent instead of carpets. In the better class of cottages, as in the houses of the ordinary burgher, the floors were of stone or wood. Chimneys had come into use to some extent, even in the homes of the common people, but cooking was frequently done out of doors. The people slept on straw beds without springs and frequently without bedsteads. The furniture was simple and usually home-made, as were the wooden trenchers and other utensils used in cooking and eating.

Food and drink.

For the common people there was still too little food, although vegetables added abundance as well as variety to the average meal. Since the Dutch and English fishermen made frequent trips to the North Sea fishing banks (§ 73), and the French and English fishermen were bringing back cod and herring from similar banks off Newfoundland (§ 74), even the common people could afford to eat fish more frequently than in earlier centuries. Home-brewed beer or ale or mead was consumed in large quantities, sometimes serving for food as well as drink. In years of plenty food was abundant, yet on the Continent, where the excessive number of tolls (§ 15) made

it impossible to carry grain any considerable distance, local famines occurred on the average every third or fourth year.

Business and the Towns

10. The Large Cities. — The Renaissance, the discovery of America, and the opening of new sea routes to the East caused business to expand greatly. Commerce between European nations prospered and there was far more trade between Europe and the peoples of the far East and the New World than in previous centuries. This expansion of business led to the growth of towns and cities.[1] During the sixteenth century Antwerp had developed into a great commercial center. When it was almost destroyed by the Spanish in 1576, its trade was taken over by other towns, such as Amsterdam.

The economic renaissance and the growth of cities.

The development of England as a sea power during this period was due to her interest in colonization both in America and in India and to her defeat of the great Spanish Armada;[2] it was reflected particularly in the growth of the country's principal city, *London*. When Elizabeth became queen, in 1558, London had fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. Even then she was one of the largest cities, if not the largest, of western Europe. At the opening of the seventeenth century her population had almost doubled and within two years after the Restoration (1660) she boasted a population estimated a little less than a half million.[3]

Growth of English trade and of London.

[1] The medieval towns were small and none had a population that would compare with that of the modern city. In them were gathered artisans who usually belonged to craft gilds (E. E. C., § 557). Other gilds were made up of tradesmen or merchants who controlled the sale of certain articles within the town or the trade in those articles between towns. There was little international trade in the early Middle Ages.

[2] E. E. C., § 699.

[3] No other European capital had as large a population as London. Even as late as 1801, at the beginning of the brilliant Napoleonic régime,

Conditions in the cities.

Like their medieval predecessors these cities had rather narrow streets, which either were not improved at all or were paved very badly. Sidewalks were uncommon, even as to-day, in some of the older European cities, they are still practically unknown. Streets were not lighted at night and were patrolled usually by guards known as the "watch" (§ 94). A police force could quell actual disturbances, but was not able to stop street fighting or protect the unwary citizens who ventured forth unarmed or unguarded after nightfall. As a rule the only attractive buildings were the houses of the nobles, many of whom had their town houses at the national capital as well as manor houses or castles on one or more country estates. The houses of the poor were tenements several stories in height with few windows; they were made less desirable for habitation by their filth and general unsanitary conditions.

Watchmen and Lanterns

Difference between early modern and present-day industry.

11. Industry Three Centuries Ago. — We must keep in mind that, whereas to-day goods are made by *large corporations*, some of which have immense capital, huge

there were only 547,000 inhabitants in Paris. Vienna, which at this period was the home of the emperor and the most important capital in Europe, contained with its suburbs in 1800 but 231,000. Two centuries earlier its population was considerably less than that of either Paris or London. In 1600 Berlin was small and the name Pet'ro-grad (St. Petersburg) did not appear on the map.

buildings, and thousands of workers, in those days, even in the cities, the *small shop* of a master with a few assistants was the rule, even where the gild system no longer existed. Usually the people of the larger cities were interested in commerce rather than in industry.

Localized industries of seventeenth century.

At that time there were no manufacturing cities which devoted their energy to steel and iron trade, as do Pittsburg in America and Sheffield and Leeds in England to-day, although Lyon and some cities of south central France were noted for their metal wares. The towns gave more attention to the *weaving of cloth*, always the most important industry of Flanders in northern Belgium, than to any other single industry. Those in England and northern Europe specialized in the weaving of wool. Some of those in southern France and Italy were particularly skillful in the weaving of silks and in a few places fine cotton goods were made on a limited scale. Some of the towns of France were already beginning to specialize in fine pottery. Paris in that day took the lead in creating new styles in hats. She was also famous for her chocolate. In the Middle Ages and until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, and even at the present time in eastern Europe, *household industries* were common (§ 179).

Refining Silver

The era of high prices.

During the sixteenth century manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, and standards of living were much affected by a great

change in the value of money. In the Middle Ages money had been scarce and consequently prices had been low. With the importation from America of large quantities of silver and gold, and the opening of new silver mines in Germany, Spain, and southern France, the precious metals became much more common and *prices rose* to three or four times what they had been. Of course some people made large profits; others suffered extraordinary hardships.[1] We complained because prices rose 50 per cent in the twenty years before the beginning of the Great War. What would we have thought of a change several times as great?

Consolidation and decline of gilds.

12. The Gilds. — The medieval cities had been hives of industry, carried on usually by the craft gilds. With the expansion of business in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was impossible for the gilds to play as large a part as formerly in the manufacture and sale of different commodities. By the close of Elizabeth's reign the *gilds of England* had ceased to have an important place in the business life of that nation. They maintained their organizations in some cases for two centuries or more, but most goods were thereafter produced at home and much business was done by chartered companies. On the Continent, however, the gilds continued to be important.[2]

[1] Those who owned land, who could and did increase their rents (E. E. C. §§ 664–665) were fortunate, but their tenants were not. Those tenants, as in many parts of France, that continued to pay a customary rent made a large profit on their crops, as the price of foods and other commodities rose several fold. Laborers and others whose wages rose slowly therefore had lower standards of living than formerly.

[2] In the *Netherlands* and *Germany* the gilds were more powerful and continued for a century or two longer to control both the making and the sale of goods. In *France* the gilds were encouraged and were organized into large companies, chiefly for the purpose of furnishing revenues to the king. They lost some of their former business to chartered companies or to other capitalists who carried on industry on a larger scale than known in the Middle Ages.

Some troubles of the gilds.

Besides their problems due to the rise of the monarchies and the growth of new industries, the gilds fought one another. The shoe-makers objected when the cobblers made and sold new shoes instead of doing repair work exclusively. In Paris the meat cooks quarreled successfully at first with the gild cooks but unsuccessfully later with the poulterers. The French haberdashery corporation tried at the same time to get royal permission to make and sell new kinds of hats and to keep rival gilds from making substitute forms of headgear. The gilds not only quarreled with one another but they sometimes fought with brotherhoods of workmen.

Beginnings of business regulation by the English government in the Middle Ages.

13. Government Regulation of Industry. — During the Middle Ages the gilds rather than the king's government regulated the method of manufacture for different articles and prescribed the minimum quality of goods that might be sold by members of the craft. Under the three Edwards in England, regulations were introduced to control both the manufacture and the exportation and importation of goods. These early tariffs placed duties on wools and wines.

Government regulations in France.

In France as in England royal supervision was developed largely for the purpose of bringing the king revenues. At the beginning of the seventeenth century regulation by the royal government was not onerous, but we shall see later (§ 56) how under Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, supervision of manufacture and of trade was carried to an extreme, even to defining the width of cloth and the number of threads per inch. Colbert's complete regulations filled several volumes and left the masters little opportunity to improve methods. In central and eastern Europe the regulation of industry was still controlled by the gilds rather than by the governments.

14. The Bourgeoisie. — The name bourgeoisie (boor-zhwa-zē′) is given to the business class which developed

Growth of the burgess class and its influence.

in burgs or cities. The expansion of business and the new commercial opportunities during the Renaissance made it possible for some of these merchants, especially those who enjoyed monopolies or other royal favors, to amass fortunes which were far beyond the wildest dreams of the medieval craftsman or merchant.

Bourgeoisie demands for position and privileges.

Rich as the bourgeoisie became and *powerful* as they were in the new branches of manufacturing, in commerce, and in banking, they frequently failed to gain the *privileges* which were even more to them than money. In France, for example, the so-called Hu'gue-not Wars were to a great extent due to the controversies between the old nobility, which was striving to keep its ancient privileges, prestige, and power, and the new merchant class, whose members sought to secure a social position corresponding to their wealth. It was impossible for a merchant to secure an invitation to the French court.

Markets and fairs in the seventeenth century.

15. Local and National Trade. — Everywhere in Europe during the early part of the seventeenth century

Old Market, Modern View

the local trade showed characteristics similar to those that distinguished it in the Middle Ages.[1] The people of the villages still paid a large part or the whole of their rents in grain or other products. The remainder of the goods which they produced they either used themselves or they brought to a common place called a *market*, where on one or two days in a week the villagers and their friends gathered. Wheat might be exchanged for hay, or a pig for cloth, or a pair of shoes for a cask of ale. In these later days, when a wholesale merchant might have a larger business than had been possible in the Middle Ages, less attention was paid to the *fairs*, which were so prominent a characteristic of general trade in medieval times.[2]

Slow development of national trade.

Trade between English communities had always been comparatively free from *tolls* or dues. On the Continent, however, in the early seventeenth century as in the Middle Ages, trade between the different villages was hampered by tolls, which were collected at the borders of each estate. Consequently by 1600 national trade, that is trade between distant parts of a country, had not developed greatly, although later in the seventeenth century some tolls were abolished.[3] A great many highways were built, and some canals were constructed.

[1] E. E. C., §§ 560–561.

[2] Even in England the fair at Stourbridge (E. E. C., § 562) was held throughout the seventeenth century and far into the eighteenth. On the Continent fairs continued to be a general means of exchanging products at a later date than in England, and in Russia fairs were rather common until very recent times.

[3] In France these unnecessary and objectionable regulations were abolished to some extent in the sixteenth century. For example by the ordinance of 1505 the tolls on the Loire (Lwar) river were reduced again to about 150 as in the Middle Ages (E. E. C., p. 473). Later (1571) the number was supposed to be limited to 7 and the river was to be freed from dams, obstructing piers, and other obstacles to navigation. Few tolls were abolished, however, before the time of Colbert (§ 56). Even in France a great many tolls existed, except on the main

Eastern trade of Europeans.

16. General Trade. — *National* trade,[1] as well as that with the East and with American colonies, developed considerably after the Renaissance. *Trade with the East* was carried on more extensively at this time than in the Middle Ages, because goods were now carried chiefly in vessels which sailed from European ports, especially in the Netherlands, direct to India and the East Indies. Enormous profits were made of course upon the spices, teas, silks, cotton goods, sugar, and other commodities brought from the far East, usually *via* the Cape of Good Hope.[2] In 1600 the English organized the famous East India Company, which established factories or trading posts on the shores of India and gained a share in the lucrative Eastern trade.[3]

highways, until long after Colbert's time. In Prussia tolls were not removed to any great extent until the time of Frederick the Great and in general in central and southern Europe the abolition of medieval tolls did not take place until the last part of the eighteenth century or the early decades of the nineteenth.

[1] There was little *trade among the European nations* before the Renaissance. The *modern national tariff* was unnecessary in the medieval period for that reason and because there were no real nations at that time. With the development of the monarchies, however, and the need of revenues, duties were collected upon all goods brought into each country from any other European nation, or from countries in the far East, or from colonies in the New World. The main object of course was *revenue*, but an important object, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the development of a new national policy called the *mercantilist system* (E. E. C., § 727). *The root idea of mercantilism was that a country becomes rich if it increases its supply of gold and silver.*

[2] During the Middle Ages this Asiatic trade was largely in the hands of the Saracens and the merchants of Venice and Genoa. In the later sixteenth century it had been almost monopolized by the Portuguese. In the later sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries it was monopolized almost as much by the Dutch, but the English and French also sought a share in this eastern trade.

[3] The French had some trading posts on the coasts of the peninsula of Hindustan. The Dutch controlled not only the way station at the Cape of Good Hope, but also the Island of Ceylon and many of the East India islands themselves. The Portuguese still kept the Spice Islands, the Mo-luc'cas, and some of the other East Indies, although their trade had declined rapidly before 1600.

17. Trade with the American Colonies. — In the early seventeenth century there was a growing trade between Europe and the *American colonies*. The most important commodities imported from the New World were the *precious metals*, from the Spanish colonies of Mexico and Peru; *sugar*, from Brazil, which belonged to Portugal, and from the Spanish, Dutch, and French colonies in the West Indies; *tobacco*, from the West Indies and later from Virginia; *fish*, from Newfoundland; and *furs*, which later were imported in large quantities from New Amsterdam and the French settlements along the St. Lawrence river. This colonial trade, which grew to considerable proportions and was of very great importance in the eighteenth century, will be described more fully in Chapter IV. We should note here, however, that no American colony was permitted to trade with any European country that it pleased; it was forced to trade almost exclusively with its own mother country (§ 81).

Articles imported from America in the early seventeenth century.

Religious and Social Conditions

18. The Medieval Church and the Reformation. — In the seventeenth century, as at the present time, southern Europe was Roman Catholic, northern Europe with the exception of Ireland was Protestant, and eastern Europe was Greek Catholic. It will be remembered that during the Middle Ages there was only one Church in western and central Europe.[1] This Church was a highly organized body under the Pope, bishops, and lesser clergy. It was not only a religious organization, but it controlled a large part of the land, looked after travelers, education, the poor, and performed numerous other duties now attended to by governments. There had been protests against the *secular power* and to some extent against the *religious uniformity*, maintained by the medieval Church. Among

Organization and work of the medieval Church.

[1] E. E. C., Chap. XVIII.

these were the movements led by Wyclif in England [1] and by Huss in Bohemia.[2]

The Reformation: causes and leaders.

In the early part of the sixteenth century an upheaval occurred within the Church. This was due to many causes other than those distinctively religious: the rise of the monarchies, the new learning of the Renaissance, the demand that the Church should give less of its energy to secular interests, disgust with the abuses which had crept into the Church's administration of affairs, and the general desire of the time for change. This upheaval or revolution we call the *Reformation*.[3] It was led by Martin Luther, who in 1517 made the first decided break with the papacy by fastening on the church door of Wittenberg 95 theses against the sale of indulgences. Other leaders of the Protestant movement were Zwingli (Tswing'li) in Switzerland and John Calvin, a Frenchman who spent most of his life in Switzerland.

The Counter-Reformation.

The Protestant movement spread rapidly during the forty years following Luther's first attack; its progress was checked by a *Counter Reformation*[4] within the older Church. The opposition to Protestantism was led chiefly by a new military order known as the "Society of Jesus," which was founded by Ig-na'ti-us Loy-o'la about 1540, and whose members are called *Jesuits*.

Extent and organization.

19. The Roman Catholic Church. — In the early part of the seventeenth century five countries were still predominantly or absolutely Roman Catholic. These were Portugal, Spain, France, "Austria," and "Italy." The religious organization of the Roman Catholic Church was similar to that which existed in the Middle Ages and which prevails to-day. The head was the Pope, who was selected by a council of cardinals usually from the Italian clergy. Because of the Reformation his *religious* authority ex-

[1] E. E. C., § 619.
[2] E. E. C., § 620.
[3] E. E. C., §§ 676–681.
[4] E. E. C., §§ 687–689.

tended over a smaller area than had that of his medieval predecessors, but it was otherwise unimpaired. His *secular* authority on the contrary had been reduced greatly since the days when Innocent III [1] wielded not only great temporal power but claimed to be overlord of all European monarchs.

Lands, revenues, and business of Church organization.

In the early seventeenth century the Roman Catholic Church owned a large amount of land, most of which it let out to villeins or cultivated by the labor of serfs. In many Catholic states of Germany and in a few other countries, some of the church lands, particularly those belonging to the religious orders, had been secularized (frequently a polite name for confiscation) by the different rulers.[2] In addition to the produce or money rents secured from these lands, the church received from its members the great tithe and the lesser tithe,[3] as well as other contributions of different kinds. Attention was given by the Church to education and to dispensing charity or caring for the sick in the hospitals, which increased considerably in number during the seventeenth century.[4]

Independence of the French church before and in 1600.

20. Church and State in France and Germany. — The clergy of France had always been distinguished for their independent attitude toward the papacy. We see evidences of this during the barbarian invasions,[5] in connection with the Babylonian Captivity,[6] and especially in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (Bourzh) (1438). In 1516,

[1] E. E. C., § 533.

[2] In practically all Protestant countries, property of the old church was either taken over by the new churches or appropriated (secularized) by the government.

[3] E. E. C., § 521.

[4] Since the religious orders were less important than in the Middle Ages, comparatively little business was transacted in and by the monasteries (E. E. C., §§ 505–512), although the Jesuits were engaged in trade and had commercial and banking houses not only in European cities but in the New World.

[5] E. E. C., § 425.

[6] E. E. C., § 618.

the year before Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg, Francis I of France made a concordat with the Pope by which the French Church remained Catholic but continued its independent position under the control of the king.

Political and religious conditions in Germany after 1648.

In 1600 Germany included not only most of the German Empire of to-day, but also Austria proper and some other territories. It was divided into many states — kingdoms, principalities, free cities, and a large number of petty ecclesiastical or secular districts — each of which wished to be self-governing and was to a large extent independent. In the early part of the seventeenth century [1] a great politico-religious controversy broke out which lasted for three decades, and is therefore known as the Thirty Years' War. It ended with the Peace of Westphalia (1648),[2] which secured for the princes of each state or for each town the right to keep, as its own religion, any one of the three faiths, Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist.

Break of Henry VIII with the papacy.

21. The Anglican Church. — In England more than in any other Protestant country the break with Rome was the work not of the people under religious leaders, but of the king. It will be remembered that when Henry VIII wished to divorce Catharine of Aragon and the Pope withheld his consent, Henry secured a divorce through an English court and had Parliament pass an *Act of Supremacy* [3] which made him head of the English Church instead of the Pope. Henry suppressed the monasteries throughout the country, but it must not be supposed that he introduced reforms which made England really Protestant.

[1] In 1555, by the Peace of Augsburg (E. E. C., § 681), the right was given to all princes and towns to decide for themselves whether they and their people should be Catholics or Lutherans. All the people in each principality, state, or town were thereafter supposed to have exactly the same religious faith. Catholic rulers as well as Protestant proceeded to secularize a great deal of church property, because they wanted the lands and the revenues for themselves. The authorities found it impossible to keep some of their people from embracing other new faiths.

[2] E. E. C., § 707.

[3] E. E. C., § 685.

Modified Protestantism established by Queen Elizabeth.

Under Henry's only son, Edward VI, whose short rule closed with his death at the age of sixteen, Protestantism was really introduced in England, for many Roman Catholic customs and usages were abolished, and the English prayer book was introduced. But Queen Elizabeth, who was indifferent to religious questions, adopted a compromise which made her the unquestioned head of the Church as well as of the State and made use of the English prayer book as the basis of the church service. Under her direction Parliament passed laws against Dissenters, that is, against those who did not accept this "An'glican" Church. Prominent among these Dissenters were the Puritan (§ 26) leaders.[1]

St. Paul's Cathedral, London

Intolerance among all sects in the sixteenth century.

22. Religious Toleration and Liberty. — It would naturally be supposed that, since the Reformation was a revolt against arbitrary religious rule and privileges, as well as against the abuses of the Church universal of that day, the first Protestants would have established religious liberty or toleration, but they learned that it did not work in practice.[2] Therefore in the sixteenth century not only

[1] In Scotland the Puritan faith spread so rapidly that the Covenanters, who agreed not to accept the old form of rule or worship, really gained control of the government and under John Knox established a Puritan church in the Presbyterian form.

[2] Luther at one time based his opposition to the Catholic Church on

were Catholics and Protestants intolerant of each other's beliefs, but every Protestant sect was exceedingly intolerant toward every other.

Spread of religious toleration

We must understand that when a country has a state church, *toleration* is simply permission granted by law to other sects to hold services of their own. The beginning of religious toleration as a doctrine is to be found among those religious sects which were not numerous and powerful enough to gain for themselves control of any state. The last part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century is distinguished for the rapid growth of the idea of toleration. In France, Henry IV, who had accepted Catholicism as the state religion, in 1598 granted religious toleration to Huguenots (Edict of Nantes (Nant)).[1] In Holland religious toleration was permitted for most Protestant sects. In Bohemia religious toleration was granted to some faiths in 1609. In England, although there was no religious toleration by law, there was considerable toleration in practice in spite of the declaration of James I in 1606 that he would make the separatist Puritans conform or force them to leave England.

Beginnings of religious liberty.

We hear it said that the Puritans came to America for religious liberty, which is a radically different thing of course from toleration. Under *religious liberty* there is no state church, and every person may worship as he pleases. Nothing is farther from the truth, for the Puritans came solely for the purpose of establishing their own church, and they did not tolerate any other Protestants, whether Baptists, Quakers, or any other sect. Not until

the ground that a man's salvation depends upon his true relation to God through his own personal faith (justification by faith). He found that he was obliged to modify that doctrine, which would leave to each member of a church the right to believe exactly what he pleased, for he learned that, if a church is organized at all, it must be organized by those who have practically the same beliefs.

[1] E. E. C., p. 702.

Roger Williams, driven from Massachusetts Bay colony chiefly because of his religious heresy, founded Providence in Rhode Island, and declared that the state and religion must be separated, that the government should have no control over religion, and that therefore any one might worship as he wished, did religious liberty find its first foothold in the modern world.

23. Education. — The Renaissance gave an impetus not only to the study of the classics, but also to schools for the sons of burghers and the better class of farmers. On the Continent, especially in the country districts, education was conducted almost exclusively in Catholic countries by the parish authorities, either by the priest himself or by some one selected by the bishop. Very great attention was given therefore to instruction which we should call religious rather than secular. Parochial schools.

In many towns in England and on the Continent schools were established under the control of the municipal authorities. A little broader education was given than had been done in the older church schools, but the pupils as a rule were obliged to pay rates for the support of the schoolmaster, whose salary was exceedingly low, averaging £16 in England. Town schools.

In England schools of the early seventeenth century were very different from those which had existed two centuries earlier. Many of them were denominational schools; others were not under religious domination but were controlled by the local authorities.[1] Instruction was given in Latin, grammar, and numbers rather than in some of the older subjects. Ordinarily charges were made for instruction and rates were paid by those who attended the schools. In a few cases, as in that of John Colet's school, no charge was made and in a few other instances charity schools were founded. The schools which were estab- The English and colonial grammar school.

[1] E. E. C., § 717.

lished in almost all New England towns before 1650, and the schools that later were started by the colonies farther South were in almost all cases closely patterned after the grammar schools of England of this period. Of course the day of free education, of education for girls in schools, of studying life and of training for life had not come yet, either in England, on the Continent, or in America.

Development of new scientific methods of study.

24. The New Science. — The new science was largely a product of the new spirit of the Renaissance; it was in turn a cause of the further development of democracy, a greater demand for liberty, and a fresh intellectual expansion. We must not suppose that the Middle Ages knew nothing whatever of science, because we know that the Saracen schools of Spain and southern Italy and the Universities at Oxford, Cambridge, and on the Continent did study the science known to the Greeks and some science that had been developed later. They did not study this science, however, very carefully or critically; in other words they did not study in a really scientific spirit. It was not until the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century that two great philosophers, an Englishman, Sir Francis Bacon, and a Frenchman, René Descartes (Day-cart′), taught that science and all other subjects should be studied at first hand, with an open and a critical mind.

Work of early modern scientists.

The beginnings of modern science may be traced back to Co-per′ni-cus, who died in 1543. *Copernicus*, a mathematician, proved by elaborate and accurate reasoning that the sun, not the earth, is the center of our solar system, and that the earth and planets revolve around the sun. It was not until after the opening of the seventeenth century that other scientists and astronomers carried on the work which he began. After 1600 *Gal-i-le′o* constructed a telescope and by his observations showed that the Copernican theory is correct. Still later the great English scientist,

Sir Isaac *Newton*, worked out the law of gravitation. With these notable beginnings it was possible for modern science to develop, though slowly, throughout the eighteenth century. None the less, when we compare the scientific achievements of recent and earlier centuries, we are almost inclined to the belief that modern science is practically the product of the last century.

General References

Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 338–347, 401–426.
Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 78–129.
Stephenson, *The Elizabethan People.*
Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, 200–315.
Ashley, *Economic Organisation of England*, 88–139.
Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 136–198.
Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 150–243.
Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*, 82–119.
Cunningham, *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects*, II, 146–224.
Cambridge Modern History, I, 493–531.
Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 1–562.
Hoover (eds.), Agricola's *De Re Metallica.*
Hugon, *Social France in the Seventeenth Century.*
Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols.
Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century.*
Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, III (part II), IV.

Topics

Break-up of the Manor: Ashley, *Economic Organization of England*, 44–67; Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 134–150; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 99–133.

English Agriculture: Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 78–102; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 100–119; Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*, 108-120.

Beginnings of Capital and Trade: Ashley, *Economic Organization of England*, 68–87; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social*

History of England, 161–172; Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 150–208; Cunningham, *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects*, II, 162–224.

Beginnings of Modern Science: Snyder, *The World Machine*, 161–266; Sedgwick and Tyler, *Short History of Science*, 191–229, 255–272; Williams, *Every Day Science*, I, 53–123, 192–251.

Studies

1. Sixteenth century enclosures. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 141–147.

2. The nobility two or three centuries ago. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 70–82.

3. Sports in England. Stephenson, *The Elizabethan People*, 102–109.

4. Merrie England in Elizabeth's Day. Synge, *Social Life in England*, 161–189.

5. Problems of London Life. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 312–324.

6. Capital and labor for the colonies. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 342–350.

7. Decline of the English gilds. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 147–161.

8. The Eastland Company and Muscovy Merchants. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 234–241.

9. The greatest maritime people of the seventeenth century. Cunningham, *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects*, II, 196–206.

10. Religious toleration. Bury, *History of Freedom of Thought*, 92–127.

11. Seventeenth century schools. Parker, *History of Modern Elementary Education*, 49–64.

Questions

1. What were the most important countries of Europe three centuries ago? What countries appeared on the map then which have since disappeared? What countries have since appeared on the map?

2. What powers had the kings gained at the expense of the nobles? Give some idea of the privileges of provinces or towns

and liberties possessed by the people of that day. Have our American states privileges or rights corresponding to those of the seventeenth century province? Do American cities to-day possess any privileges corresponding to those of early modern towns? Name at least five respects in which we have more liberty to-day than our ancestors had three centuries ago.

3. How was the central government of England organized in 1600? What was the nature of English local government of that day?

4. Had the lords lost more *political* powers or more privileges during the later Middle Ages?

5. Is there any connection between the break-up of the manorial system and the abolition of villeinage? Where were there serfs in 1600, and to what extent were they better off than their ancestors? How do you account for the abolition of villeinage in some places and the retention of serfdom in others?

6. In what respects had conditions in the cities improved? (Cf. E. E. C., §§ 552–554.)

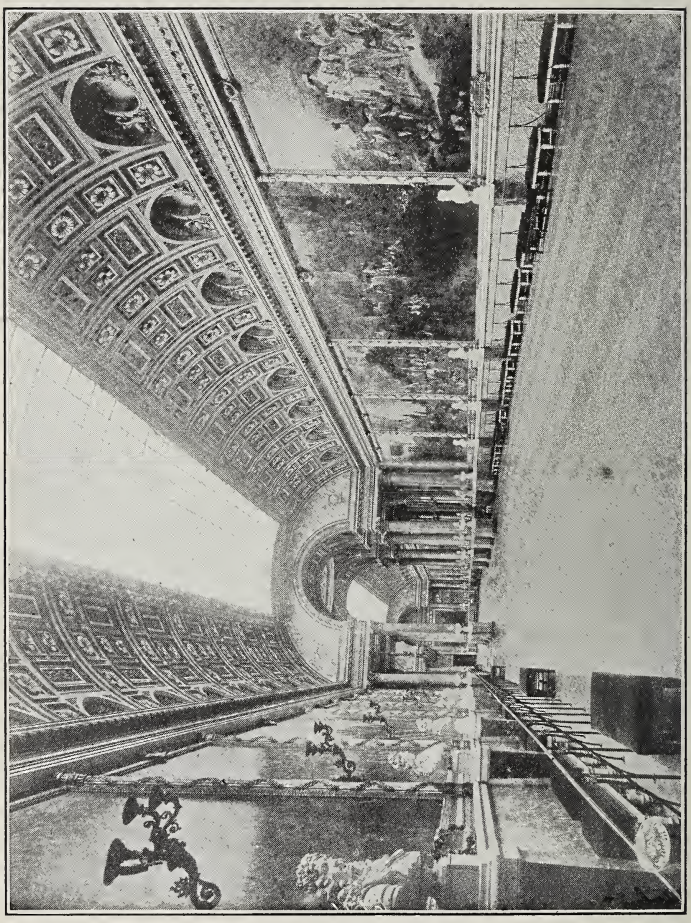
7. Under what conditions were most goods produced three centuries ago? To what extent were gilds still in existence? How much government regulation was there? Compare these three things in Europe then and America now.

8. Compare conditions in the Middle Ages and in 1600 regarding the following subjects: local trade, national and international trade, eastern trade, and commerce with the colonies.

9. Name at least three conditions which made it impossible for the medieval Church to retain its universal rule and extensive temporal authority in the early modern period. Give some idea of the organization, clergy, and work of the Roman Catholic Church at this time.

10. Explain why the rise of the nations created a problem of Church and State in both Catholic and Protestant countries. Explain why a separate church was organized in England and show the nature of the rule and worship within that church. Explain why religious toleration was an inevitable product of the Renaissance movement, but explain also why religious toleration and liberty were not allowed by either Protestants or Catholics in the sixteenth century.

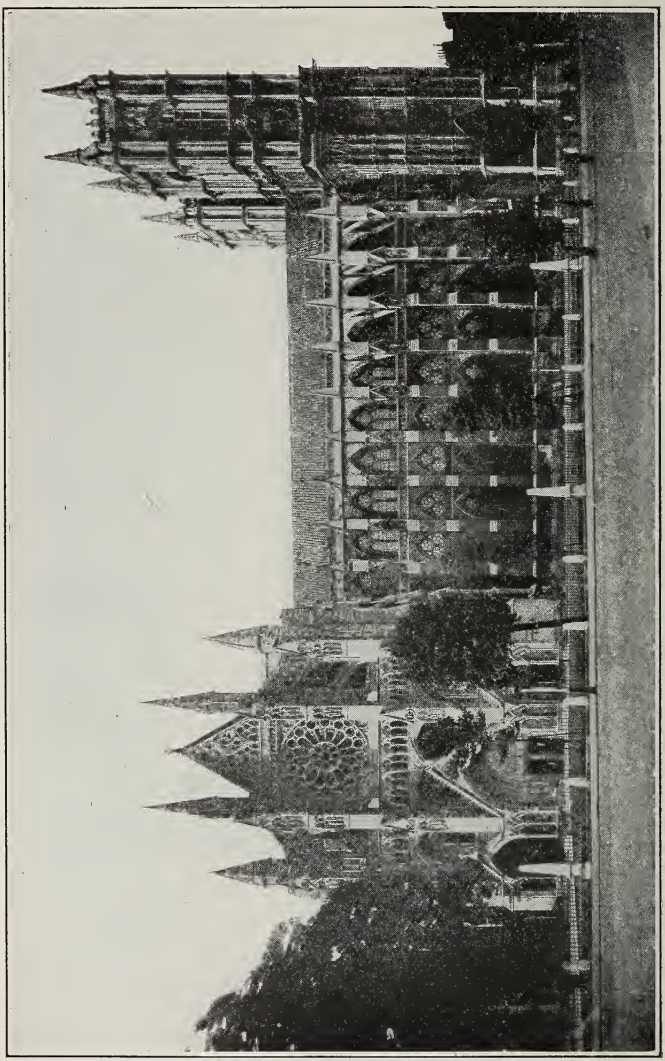
11. Compare education of ordinary scholars in the Middle Ages, in the English or colonial grammar schools of the seventeenth century, and in America to-day. Why was a new science inevitable as a result of the Renaissance?



THE PALACE AT VERSAILLES — GALLERY OF BATTLES

PART I

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM (1603–1789)



WESTMINSTER ABBEY

CHAPTER II

ENGLAND (1603–1760)

The Early Stuarts and Parliament (1603–1635)

25. James I and Parliament. — On the death of Queen Elizabeth, James of Scotland became king of England (1603–1625), and for a century the two kingdoms were united simply because they had the same king. In 1707 their parliaments were combined and they were united under the name of the kingdom of Great Britain. Elizabeth was the last of the Tudor line; James was the first of the Stuart monarchs.[1]

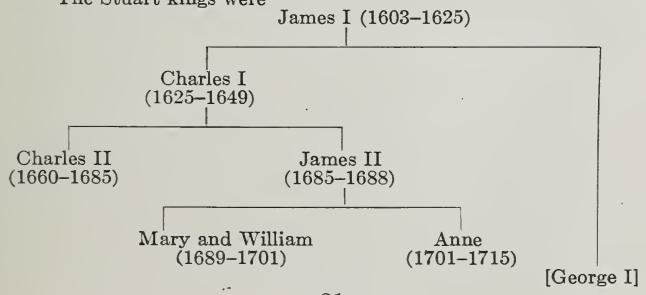
"Personal union" of England and Scotland under the Stuart kings.

The new king was learned but not wise. He believed that he had a "divine right" to rule. He declared, "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do."

The "divine right of kings."

It was not long before there was a sharp dispute between the king, ruling by divine right, and the Parliament,

[1] The Stuart kings were



Conflict between James and Parliament over "supplies."

made up largely of Puritans, who demanded a real share in the government. This conflict arose chiefly over the granting of "supplies," or royal revenues, by Parliament. Parliament ordinarily refused to give the king money unless he gave Parliament privileges in return. Consequently James went without money and Parliament did not meet often during his reign.[1]

Beginnings of the great Puritan movement and ideas of the Puritans.

26. The Puritans. — The Puritan movement [2] started when refugees fled to Geneva from the persecutions of Mary Tudor.[3] In Geneva, they gladly followed the suggestions of John Calvin. The Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, were studied with unflagging zeal. They favored the election of pastors by churches and often preferred the rule of churches by elders. They were narrow and intense, severe in self-discipline, moral and upright, and they attached an importance to simple forms that is amazing to a person of the twentieth century. Their desire to raise the low moral standard of the time made them go to the opposite extreme, and their opposition to amusements was rabid. We are almost tempted to believe the statement that they objected to the cruel sport of bear-

[1] James was anxious to make an alliance with Spain. In the end he failed to secure a Spanish princess for his son, Charles, because Spain demanded in return concessions to the English Catholics, which James dared not grant. Finally Charles married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, and both he and his father secretly promised Richelieu (Rish-lyu') that the English Catholics should be treated more leniently.

[2] In Scotland, the Puritans were, almost without exception, Presbyterians, favoring the rule of the church by elders or representatives, but in England there were three different groups. The largest of these groups, the "*Puritans*" proper, remained in the established or Anglican Church, but wished to "purify" the church service of old or "papist" forms. A second group, the *Presbyterians*, wished a form of government by presbyters or elders to be substituted for the rule of the bishop, and a third group, called *Independents*, insisted that each church should be ruled by its congregation. Those Puritans who were willing to leave the Anglican church were called *Separatists*.

[3] E. E. C., § 686.

baiting less because it gave pain to the bear than because it afforded pleasure to the spectators.

A Puritan *St. Gaudens*

The Puritans of England hoped for great things from James, since he came to them from a land of Puritans, but James had had enough Puritanism to last him the rest of his life. At the *Hampton Court Conference* (1604), where the reforms desired by the Puritans were discussed, he angrily declared that Puritanism [1] " agreeth as well with

Hampton Court Conference.

[1] Presbyterianism.

monarchy as God and the Devil." He insisted that the Separatist Puritans should conform to the requirements of the Anglican church or he would "harry them out of the land." He was as good as his word; many Separatists were obliged to leave England for Holland, whence several years later many of them, known as "Pilgrims," came to Plymouth colony on the coast of Massachusetts.

Why Charles needed a large amount of revenue.

CHARLES I, BY VAN DYCK

27. Charles I and Parliament. — When James I died, in 1625, his oldest son became king, with the title Charles I. Charles was radically different from his father, being handsome and attractive. Although honest, upright, and religious, Charles was silent, secretive, and unable to understand what the people wanted. From the first, he needed money, and his wars increased his need, but he did not get any revenue from Parliament.[1]

Charles was now forced to resort to any expedient to get *money*. He asked in every county for free gifts, but few were made. He then collected forced loans. He

[1] When Charles asked Parliament to vote him "supplies," Parliament responded by criticizing the king's favorite, Buckingham, and condemning the failure of a miserable campaign against the Spanish. The king dissolved Parliament. The next year, it was called again. Again it was dissolved, without voting funds, in order to prevent the impeachment of Buckingham.

saved expenses by quartering troops upon the people. He levied tonnage and poundage duties,[1] although Parliament had granted them to him only from year to year, not for the whole of his reign, as had been done with previous sovereigns for more than a century.

Expedients used by Charles to raise money.

28. The Petition of Right. — When Parliament met in 1628, the House of Commons insisted upon a redress of grievances. It drew up a Petition of Right, to which the king reluctantly gave his consent. This great document provided that (1) the king should not collect gifts, loans, benevolences, or taxes without the consent of Parliament; (2) people should not be kept imprisoned arbitrarily; (3) martial law should not be used in time of peace; and (4) quartering of soldiers on the people was prohibited. This Petition of Right is one of the most important documents in the English Constitution.

Provisions of the Petition of Right (1628).

When the Commons sought to discuss their religious grievances, Charles at once dissolved Parliament.[2] *For eleven years no Parliament met in England.* The king imprisoned Eliot and four associates who had opposed him in Parliament, Eliot dying in prison a few years later. By the use of arbitrary courts which did not allow jury trial, the Court of the Star Chamber[3] and the Court of High Commission, Charles ruled England about as he pleased.

29. Arbitrary Rule of Charles I (1629–1635). — With the aid of Laud, later archbishop of Canterbury, Charles

[1] E. E. C., § 592, *n.* 2.

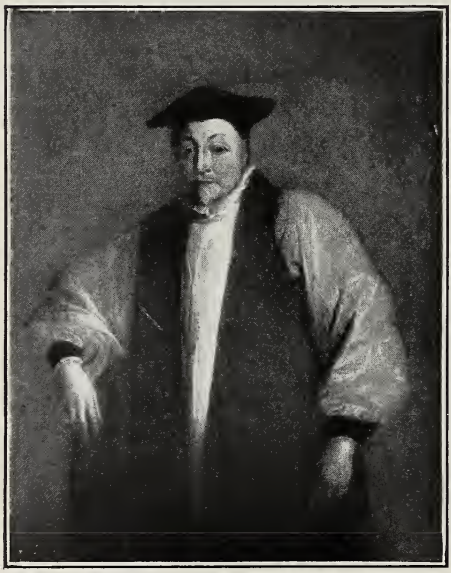
[2] Just before adjournment, amidst intense excitement, Sir John Eliot introduced three famous resolutions. These resolutions declared that those who made innovations in religion, either of form or of doctrine; those who advised the levying of tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament; and those who paid tonnage and poundage, were betrayers of the liberty of England and enemies of the commonwealth. With shouts of "aye, aye" the Commons adopted the resolutions, as they dispersed.

[3] E. E. C., § 649.

Laud's high church policy for all churches.

introduced into the church service many *high church forms* that were odious to the Puritans. *Laud* was willing that men should interpret the Scriptures as they desired, but he insisted that all churches and all clergymen observe these new forms, such as wearing the surplice and keeping the communion table at the east end of the choir.

Unusual methods used by Charles to secure revenue.



Archbishop Laud

Without a Parliament to grant him supplies, Charles was forced to obtain money in other ways. Under a very old law he compelled men to be knighted, the king's treasury profiting by the fees and fines. The Crown seized lands to which it had a slight claim under the old feudal law, or it left the lands in the hands of the holders in return for a money payment. Even these arbitrary assessments did not give Charles enough revenue. He then levied on the seacoast towns an assessment for the royal navy, called "ship money." As there was precedent for this in time of war, the people paid the tax.

Ship money and the Hampden case.

The next year (1635) a second levy of *ship money* was made. This time the inland towns were included also. John Hampden, a country squire, refused to pay the levy on the ground that it was a tax which had not been

approved by Parliament. Since Charles controlled the court before which Hampden was tried, it decided against Hampden by a vote of seven judges to five. This was a legal victory for Charles but a moral victory for the opposition. This arbitrary government of Charles caused many Puritans to migrate to the New World. In New England they established colonies which they governed as they pleased; in them they had their own church (§ 79).

Puritan Revolution and the Restoration (1635–1688)

30. Events Leading to Civil War. — In 1637, Charles tried to force the Scotch to follow Laud's policy, including the use of the English Prayer Book. The Scotch protested and finally raised an army. With the Scotch in northern England, Charles now summoned a famous Parliament, known in history as the Long Parliament.

Trouble with the Scotch.

The *Long Parliament* met in no uncertain temper. It proceeded to attack Charles' chief advisers and finally beheaded the Earl of Strafford [1] and later, Archbishop Laud. Parliament protected itself against the king. It provided for meetings of Parliament at least every three years, and the Long Parliament was not to be dissolved without its own consent. It abolished the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission. It declared illegal not only ship money, but tonnage and poundage, if the latter were collected without the consent of Parliament.

How the Long Parliament abolished arbitrary government.

In November, 1641, the House of Commons passed, by a majority of only nine votes, a *Grand Remonstrance*, which was a lengthy protest against the misgovernment of the king. A few weeks later the king, aroused by the

The grand remonstrance.

[1] Parliament first tried to impeach Strafford, or Wentworth, a former leader of the Commons. Then Parliament passed a bill of attainder against him and sent him to the block.

proposed impeachment of the queen, and hoping to rid himself of the leaders of the opposition, marched with his soldiers to the House of Commons, intending to arrest five objectionable members. The soldiers were left outside, and amid cries of "privilege, privilege," Charles withdrew, remarking, "Well, I see the birds are flown." Within a short time the parliamentary and royalist parties came to blows.

Victories of Parliament over the king.

31. Civil War. — Southern and eastern England, with its towns, prosperous farms, and large estates, supported Parliament. Northern and western England stood by the king. The king's supporters, gentlemen in fine dress, their hair in long curls, were called "*cavaliers*." Their opponents, with shaven heads and simple clothing, were known as "*roundheads*." For the disciplined, intensely religious roundheads the cavaliers were no match.[1] At Marston Moor and Nase'by the forces of Parliament were completely victorious.

A Cavalier

Trial and death of Charles I.

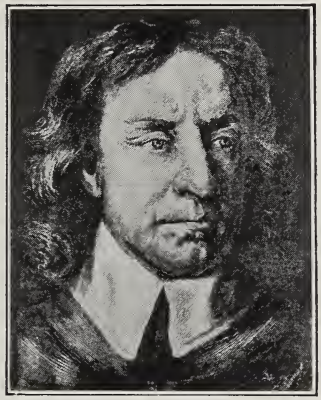
By 1647, Charles was driven to take refuge with the Scotch army, which surrendered him to Parliament. As the Presbyterians in Parliament were likely to be too favorable to the king, Colonel Pride of the army drove them out, an act known as Pride's Purge. The king was tried at once by the

[1] The Puritan army, the "new Model," made up of sincere, earnest Puritans who prayed and kept their powder dry, was modeled after a regiment of cavalry, the famous "Ironsides" of Oliver Cromwell, "a lovely company," as their commander called them, without intentional irony.

remaining members of this "Rump" Parliament, was condemned to death as a "tyrant, traitor, and murderer," and was beheaded (1649).

32. The Commonwealth and Protectorate. — England was now declared a "Commonwealth." The first need of the new government was to establish order, a task which was completed by the great Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell, with characteristic thoroughness. Ireland was subdued in a campaign of unusual severity (§ 000). A new insurrection of Scotchmen, loyal to the House of Stuart, who rallied to the support of the late king's son, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," was completely suppressed, but Charles escaped from England after weeks of hiding.

Cromwell establishes order and dissolves Parliament.



Oliver Cromwell

Cromwell as Lord Protector.

In 1653, Cromwell in disgust dissolved the "Rump" Parliament. Soon after he was made "Lord Protector." Although England still had a Parliament, Cromwell's was the master mind of both Commonwealth and Protectorate. This Puritan, a plain man of the plain people, by virtue of his honesty, his uprightness, and his thoroughness, stands out as the greatest Englishman in political life during the seventeenth century.

33. The Puritan Commonwealth. — Cromwell's was really a military rule, a despotism greater than that of Charles I. He made the name of England feared abroad. His firmness toward the Dutch, French, and Spanish, and his successes in the wars with Holland and Spain, made him popular at home. Under him business pros-

Popularity of Cromwell's firm rule and successful foreign policy.

pered, as was natural, for the opposition to the king had been chiefly the opposition of the agricultural and commercial classes.

Constitutional rule in theory and in practice.

This Puritan Commonwealth was an interesting political experiment. In spite of the fact that it was despotic in character, it was presumably based on an "Instrument of Government," which was a written constitution, the first ever used by a large country. The government favored liberty of the press, for which Cromwell's secretary, the great poet, John Milton, had pleaded during the Civil War. It tried to establish religious toleration, but without great success. The Puritan revolution did not fail, although it seemed to fail, since it had stood for ideas that very soon made England the first modern constitutional monarchy of Europe.

The survival of Cromwell's policy after the Restoration (1660).

34. The Restoration (1660) and Reaction. — Cromwell died in 1658. Under his son, the Protectorate was a failure. All classes desired a return of the Stuarts, and in 1660 the *Restoration* occurred, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" becoming king with the title of Charles II. Many of the Puritan laws were declared null and void, but others — for example, the Navigation Ordinance of 1651 (§ 75), to build up the shipping of England at the expense of the Dutch — were reënacted to make them legal. In the next war with the Dutch, New Netherland became English territory.

Reaction against "Puritanism."

As the Puritans had overdone everything, especially by enforcing a "puritanical" Sabbath and by interfering with sports and pleasures, there was a reaction from simple, severe living. People went to the opposite extreme, led by the king and the courtiers, who had grown accustomed in their exile to the lax moral standards of the Continent. Butler's *Hu'di-bras*, written at this time, caricatured the Puritans and all that they stood for. The decline of Puritanism was due to ridicule as well as new legislation.

35. The Absolutism of Charles II. — Charles tried to obtain religious toleration for his Catholic friends, but Parliament passed many laws [1] against Catholics and Dissenters. In spite of the new Habeas Corpus Act [2] which protected the people against the king's judges, Charles ruled very arbitrarily; he took away the charters of London and of Massachusetts Bay colony.

Quarrel between Charles II and Parliament over toleration for Catholics.

The first English political parties appeared at this time. The great nobles and the merchants who opposed the king's arbitrary government united as *Whigs*, a name which was applied to them at first in contempt; while the conservatives, the gentry, and the clergy, who upheld the king, were known as *Tories*, from the name given to Irish outlaws. We can understand from these names that the political parties of that time did not love each other any better than do the parties of modern times.

The first Whigs and Tories.

36. The Absolutism of James II (1685–1688). — James II was the most narrow and the least able of the Stuart kings. In three short years he made enemies of almost all his subjects. He appointed in the army, in the church, and in the universities, Catholics who legally could not hold office under a law of Parliament, the Test Act, for he maintained that, as king, he had the right to suspend such laws as he pleased.

How James II alienated his supporters and the nation.

[1] The "Cavalier Parliament" of the Restoration was overwhelmingly royalist. Among the laws against Dissenters were the Corporation Act, keeping Dissenters from holding office in municipal corporations and to some extent in Parliament; an Act of Uniformity, requiring clergymen and teachers to assent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer; the Conventicle Act, forbidding Dissenters to hold religious services; and the Five Mile Act that did not allow a dissenting minister to come near any place where he had been a pastor or within five miles of any incorporated town or borough.

[2] In 1679 Parliament passed the *Habeas Corpus Act*. No person accused of crime could be held in prison for years, as Eliot had been, but must be brought before a court within twenty days after a writ of Habeas Corpus had been issued in his behalf to determine whether there was a real case against him.

The petition and trial of the seven bishops.

In 1688, James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence by which still further favors were granted to Catholics and Dissenters. He gave orders that this declaration should be read in all churches. The Dissenters scorned privileges which they should have in common with Catholics, and seven bishops petitioned the king, asking that they should not be forced to read the Declaration. They were arrested for libel and tried in Westminster Hall. To the amazement of the king and the joy of all England, the jury brought in a verdict of " not guilty."

Constitutional Government in England

Coming of William of Orange and flight of James II.

37. The Revolution of 1688. — Just before the trial of the bishops a son was born to James II. Hitherto, it had been expected that James would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary, who was married to William of Orange, the Protestant leader of continental Europe against Louis XIV. As James' son would undoubtedly be brought up a Catholic, a number of prominent nobles united in inviting Mary and William to come to England. When William accepted, James was deserted by every one, soldiers, courtiers, and advisers. He tried to leave England and was captured, but William made escape easy, as he did not wish James II to meet the fate of his father, Charles I.

Adoption of the Bill of Rights (1689).

A convention of prominent men, having agreed upon a Declaration of Rights, invited William and Mary to occupy the vacant throne. In 1689, a regular Parliament adopted a somewhat similar *Bill of Rights*.[1] It must be

[1] The Bill of Rights is a declaration of principles rather than a series of laws. It declared what ought to be rather than what is. It declared illegal the suspending or dispensing with laws, the raising of revenue or the keeping of troops without the consent of Parliament, and the denial of the right of petition. It favored free elections to Parliament, free speech in Parliament, frequent meetings of Parliament, free trials, and lighter fines. It recognized William and Mary as monarchs, to be followed by Anne, another Protestant daughter of James II.

remembered that the English constitution does not consist of a single written law, such as our national Constitution, but is made up of a series of important documents, statutes, and customs. Of these documents three are more important than others, Magna Carta,[1] 1215 A.D., the Petition of Right, 1628 A.D. (§ 28), and the Bill of Rights, 1689.

The government of the aristocracy through Parliament (1688–1832).

38. Importance of the Revolution of 1688. — The Revolution of 1688 marks the end of royal absolutism in England. Since 1688 the English king has reigned rather than governed; *Parliament has been the real governing power*. In other words, England in 1688 abandoned the absolutism which continued on the Continent of Europe for at least a century longer and which still exists to a large extent in Germany. She became a constitutional monarchy, not a democracy. Since that time Parliament has governed the country, but Parliament, in turn, was controlled for a century and a half by the English aristocracy, usually the Whig aristocracy. The members of the House of Lords were aristocrats, and they controlled the election of members of the House of Commons most of the time until the Reform Act of 1832.

Civil liberty but not political liberty gained in 1688.

39. Influence of the Revolution of 1688 on Individual Liberty. — The Revolution of 1688 had an important effect upon individual liberty in England. It has been the boast of Englishmen that the English needed only to *retain* liberty, whereas other peoples were obliged to *acquire* it after a long struggle; yet during the seventeenth century the average Englishman was not free in the twentieth century sense. He did not have the right to vote, nor did he acquire that privilege until comparatively recent years; but, through the Revolution of 1688, he did obtain many personal or civil rights which he had not enjoyed before.

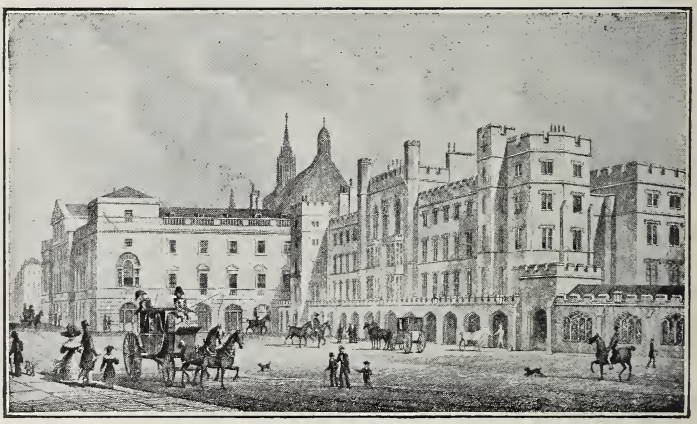
[1] E. E. C., § 590.

Civil rights that were granted to Englishmen only.

He obtained the right of petition, the right of free speech, and the right of free press. Religious toleration was granted to all Protestants. The privileges of jury trial and the writ of Habeas Corpus were of real value after 1688, since the king no longer interfered with the judges and the courts.[1]

Parliamentary control of succession to the throne and its own elections.

40. The Supremacy of Parliament. — The most important result of the Revolution of 1688, namely, the supremacy of Parliament over the king, was shown in



The Old Parliament House

several ways and in several laws. First of all, Parliament destroyed the doctrine of "divine right" by deciding in 1689, and again in 1701, who should occupy the throne of England. Parliament provided for new elections of members at least every three years; now elections

[1] Strangely enough, these rights were not granted to Scotchmen or Irishmen, nor were they given to American colonists, with the exception of religious toleration to Protestants; but the fact that these rights thereafter were "rights of Englishmen," and that the American colonists had a good English precedent which they were not slow to follow, is of importance in the constitutional development of America as well as of England.

may be five years apart. Judges were to hold office during good behavior, unless removed by Parliament.

Complete control by Parliament of both sword and purse.

Parliament not only controlled the raising of revenue, but it decided the purposes for which that money should be spent. Before 1688, the kings had used as they pleased the money raised by themselves or appropriated for them by Parliament. Since the Revolution, money for their use has been granted in a Civil List which specifies the objects for which expenditures shall be made. By the Mutiny Act the king could keep troops only one year without the full support of Parliament. With the control of both the purse and the sword, Parliament was unquestionably supreme over the king. It later developed the cabinet system of government (§§ 42, 000) as a means of ruling the kingdom.

William and Anne and their ministers.

41. The Last Stuart Reigns. — William of Orange had been for years (§ 58) the leader of the Protestant coalition against the aggressions of Louis XIV along the Rhine. He was tactless and preferred Dutch ways and councils to Englishmen and English methods. William III was not in favor of constitutional government, but he found that by selecting ministers who were acceptable to the majority of the members of the House of Commons, he could rule better, and get more of the things that he wanted. Anne was still more careful to select ministers who were in favor with Parliament.[1] By the act of succession in 1701, Anne, sister of Mary, was designated to succeed William, and at her death, if she left no heirs, the throne was to pass to Sophia, the Electress of Hanover, and granddaughter of James I, or her heirs.[1]

[1] In 1707, Queen Anne vetoed a bill. Since that time the veto has not been exercised by the English sovereign because the monarch chooses his ministers from the party which has the majority in the House of Commons and accepts any legislation which they consider wise.

England and Scotland.

The reigns of William III and of Anne were marked by the foreign wars ending in the treaties of Rys'wick and U'trecht (§ 59), and by several important constitutional changes in addition to the beginning of the cabinet just noted. In 1707 England and Scotland were really united in the *United Kingdom of Great Britain*. The Scotch people vigorously opposed for many years this union in which their national identity seemed to be lost, but *the union brought to Scotland numerous gains*. A stimulus was given to trade, as Scotch manufactures could now be marketed profitably in the English market, and Scotch ships were included under the Navigation Law of 1660. Not the least of the gains was the abolition of the Scotch Parliament, which had grown in previous years into an exceedingly unrepresentative and corrupt body of nobles. Scotland was fairly well represented in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons; Parliament therefore ceased to be English and became British.

Development under the ministries of Sir Robert Walpole.

42. Development of Cabinet Government. — George I and George II were mature men before the death of Anne brought the House of Hanover to the English throne.[1] In consequence, they remained German so long as they lived, George I not even troubling himself to learn the English language. Since they had been made English kings by the Whig party, they put their trust absolutely in the Whig leaders. The most important of these was the prime minister from 1721 to 1742, Sir Robert Walpole. When Walpole came into power, the cabinet system of English government was incompletely organized. During his rule that system was further

[1] George I ruled from 1714 to 1727, George II from 1722 to 1760, and George III (§ 000) from 1760 to 1820. The ablest ministers of these men were Walpole, the Earl of Chat'ham (William Pitt, the elder), and William Pitt the younger (§ 000).

developed, since Walpole selected his own ministers and dominated the policy of the cabinet and ministry. Although the ministry was then, as it is to-day, nominally made up of the king's advisers, Walpole selected his colleagues from those who enjoyed the support and sympathy of the House of Commons. When the cabinet as a whole lost that support, the ministry resigned.

Sir Robert Walpole

Unrepresentative and corrupt government before 1760.

It must not be supposed, that because the House of Commons was the more popular branch of the English Parliament, and because *the ministry was chiefly responsible to the House of Commons*, that it represented the English nation, for it did not until long after this time (§ 000). In the first place, only a few privileged persons were allowed to vote, and secondly, the boroughs which returned men to Parliament were in some cases old towns which had lost most of their inhabitants. Many of these boroughs, moreover, were controlled by some lord or noble who owned most or all of the land in the vicinity. Finally, the nobles who supported Walpole were kept subject to the prime minister by gifts of offices, pensions, and numerous other forms of bribery. So prominent, in fact, was this political corruption of members of

Parliament by Walpole, and later by George III, that the members of our constitutional convention in 1787 spent a quarter of their time discussing ways and means of keeping the executive department from corrupting the legislature and the legislature in turn from dominating the executive.

How the government tried to help business.

43. Business and Finance. — Since the Whig aristocracy included many large landowners and important merchants of England, business was encouraged by the government during most of this period. We shall note (§§ 83–87) some of the measures taken against the French in connection with trade, particularly in the West Indies. In order to help *English manufacturing*, export duties were removed from (136) manufactured articles, and import duties were abolished for a large number of raw materials. In order *to discourage smuggling*, Walpole attempted to levy an internal tax upon the consumption of liquors, in place of an import duty upon liquors brought into the country; but he was forced to repeal this measure because excise taxes were as unpopular as smuggling was popular. Walpole did succeed, however, in reorganizing the finances and in keeping down expenses by avoiding foreign wars.

Banking, new uses of credit, and speculation.

In 1694, the Bank of England was established. This gave the country a stable paper currency and showed the advantages of using credit in the development of business. Unfortunately, the abuse of credit led to many get-rich-quick schemes.[1] The mania for speculation was

[1] At this time, it was thought that immense fortunes could be made in colonization schemes. Consequently companies were formed for the purpose of exploiting the commerce of distant lands. The most important of these schemes was that tried by the Da-ri-en′ Company, which sought to make money by establishing a commercial colony on the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama, near the location of our present canal. Another adventure far more ambitious was that of the South Sea Company.

so absurd that enormous sums were paid for the stock of the South Sea Company, which was expecting to establish colonies, mine precious metals, and make fortunes. In fact, it never did any real business. When people realized that these ventures were purely speculative, the *South Sea bubble* burst, many fortunes were lost, and few were made except by the promoters.

Commercial wars of the eighteenth century.

The commercial wars of the eighteenth century were the direct outgrowth of the attempt to use government influence to develop colonies, manufacturing, and trade. The story of the commercial rivalry, first, between England and Holland, and afterwards between England and France, is told in Chapter IV.

Social Conditions in England, Early Eighteenth Century

Expansion of the English capital.

44. London. — About one tenth of all the people of England resided in London, although there was no other town in the country which contained 30,000 inhabitants. London was an important seaport, the quays near the Tower being thronged with vessels from every quarter of the globe. Since the Middle Ages, the city had grown considerably to the north and west, so that Westminster, which in the days of the Edwards was a long way beyond the walls, was well within the city limits in the reign of Queen Anne. The palace of the Queen, since the days of Henry VIII the town residence of the English monarch, was at St. James, which was beyond Westminster; to-day St. James is in the heart of London. There was still but one bridge across the Thames, known as the London bridge.

London streets.

In the time of Queen Anne, the streets of London were not much better than they had been in the Feudal Age. They were unpaved and not very broad. A row of posts separated the equally unpaved sidewalk from the

dust or mud of the highway.[1] Ladies naturally were allowed the inside of the sidewalk because of the danger to dress from the mud of the streets or dripping water from spouts which extended from the roofs of shops out towards the gutters. In case of showers, however, every one hastened for shelter, for only those callous to ridicule carried the umbrellas which had come into use a few years before. At night, the streets were almost as unsafe [2] as they had been in the Middle Ages.

Use of the coffee house.

45. The Coffee Houses in Addison's Time. — Attired in the elaborate costume of the young dandy, the society man of Queen Anne's day repaired at his leisure [3] to one of the coffee houses, of which there were from two to three thousand in London. One gained entrance by the payment of one penny (1*d.*). Coffee was served for 1*d.* or 1½*d.* per cup. Here society men met their friends and discussed the latest gossip; here amateur politicians aired their views to all who would listen and debated the latest news from France, or from the army in Germany; here such writers as Addison, Steele, and their friends, or, later, Dr. Johnson, enjoyed the society of other litterateurs.

Some famous coffee houses.

The coffee houses of Addison's time have been much advertised in literature. At Button's, the open mouth of a lion's head was used by Addison and his associates as a post office for the exchange of letters; Child's in

[1] When coaches were driven recklessly, as they frequently were, through the heaps of refuse and puddles of the thoroughfare, the passersby fought for the inner side of the sidewalk. In the phrase of the day, every one wanted to "take the wall," for the walled gardens frequently faced the street. In the reign of the first Georges, it became a law and a rule for the person on the right to have "right of way."

[2] E. E. C., § 553.

[3] The day of the social favorite did not begin very early, since he was not often home before midnight. Before noon, he and his wife might entertain their friends in their chamber, the wife having breakfasted but not yet risen. Dinner, which had been at two before the Revolution of 1688, became later and later, first three and then four.

St. Paul's Churchyard was famous as the resort of doctors, ministers, and other scholars; on the Strand was the Turk's Head Coffee House frequented by Dr. Johnson. St. James was even more celebrated, and was later patronized by Goldsmith, and Burke, among others.[1]

Newspapers and pamphlets after the Revolution of 1688.

46. Newspapers and the Post. — When freedom of the press was established by the Revolution of 1688, a great impetus was given to the publication of pamphlets. The first English newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, was started the week that Anne was crowned (1702). Most of the papers, however, were printed but three times a week. They were tiny affairs, about the size of a lady's handkerchief, and frequently were printed on one side only. Some of them sold for a half penny or a farthing a copy. All contained far more scandal than news, so that the government in 1712 placed a stamp tax on all newspapers. This ruined some of the papers but did not stop the evils.

Private and public post offices.

Under the later Stuarts, the government had given some attention to the carrying of the mails, but the posts were irregular and expensive. During the reign of Charles II, a private organization established a penny post. If a letter, or package under a pound in weight, was sent by a person in London to another in that city, the sender paid a penny postage. If the letter or package went outside the city, the receiver paid an additional penny. Later the government stopped the penny post and established uniform rates of 3*d.* for a single sheet sent eighty miles

[1] Some of the coffee houses were business places, where coffee was sold. Jonathan's devoted itself to stock jobbing. At Lloyd's in Lombard street, the Wall street of London, one could take out marine insurance and learn the latest news regarding the arrival or sailing of vessels. Lloyd's is no longer in Lombard street, but the company will now insure anything and everything insurable. Even Lloyd's, however, drew the line at London plate-glass windows during the suffragette outbreaks a few years ago. Of the five chocolate houses in London, one, White's, was particularly famous, making a specialty of gambling.

or less, 4*d.* for one sent in England for a longer distance, and 6*d.* for a single sheet to the colonies.

Artificial nature of the literature of the period.

47. The Augustan Age of English Literature. — The period following the Restoration was noted for its literature as well as its newspapers. Very properly it is called the Augustan Age, because, as in the days of Augustus, the monarch and those high in esteem at court helped authors and patronized literature. Unlike the Elizabethan Age, this period produced no original writers or thinkers. The poets and essayists of Queen Anne's time devoted their attention less to thought than to style. Like the elegant courtiers of the day, they were concerned chiefly with manners; not with ideas but with their expression.

Some prominent writers.

Alexander *Pope* expresses best the ideals of his time. His style, like that of John Dryden, a poet of the time of Charles II, is highly artificial, but his balanced couplets have charm and awaken in the hearer admiration for the way in which the thoughts are expressed. Joseph *Addison* is at his best as an essayist, especially in that mirror of the times, *The Spectator*, which was published daily. Jonathan *Swift* excels in satire, to which a life of misfortune lent bitterness.[1]

Beginnings of the English Novel.

Somewhat later than this group of writers appeared the first English novelists. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) may be said to be the earliest English novel, but

[1] Dr. Samuel *Johnson* is remembered best by his great dictionary of the English language. After 1715 the government had ceased to aid literature, as both George I and his minister, Walpole, had little interest in letters. Many wealthy men, however, continued to patronize authors to some extent. Dr. Johnson, after struggling several years without help, found that his patron, Lord Chesterfield, whose manners have ever since been considered ideal, was willing to aid him as soon as the publication of the Dictionary was assured. Naturally Johnson was indignant and wrote, asking if a patron was not like a person who stands on a bank watching a man struggling in the water and when he reaches the shore *encumbers him with his help.*

the development of fiction was the work of Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding.

48. Travel and Country Estates. — English roads in the early eighteenth century were very bad. Many of them were almost impassable on account of mud in the spring and dust in the summer. Turnpikes were coming into use between important towns, but usually they were little better than the older parish roads. One royal

Poor condition of the English roads.

The Quadrangle, Somerset House (Eighteenth Century)

prince, on a visit to England, spent six hours traveling nine miles; on another stage of his journey he sat almost all day in his stalled coach.

As the more traveled highways were improved, regular coach service was established. Near London, possibly the trips were daily, but more often they were twice or three times a week. On most roads there were inns, which were usually clean and well kept. The lower floor consisted, as a rule, of only two rooms, a parlor and a kitchen.[1]

Beginnings of regular coach service.

[1] After Queen Anne went to Bath early in her reign, that became the favorite social health resort. Under the strict rule of Beau Nash, Bath

New squires and old.

Besides the old-fashioned squire mentioned in section 9, there was another type of squire with whom we are much better acquainted through the pages of *The Spectator*, and who is typified by Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley. Sir Roger is, like the English squire of to-day, a careful landlord, a justice in the local court, a man accustomed to travel, spending a few weeks in season in London, and possibly attending the horse races at Ascot Park.

The food of the common people.

49. Food, Manners, and Pastimes. — The standard of living in England had been improved somewhat since the days of Elizabeth. Few new foods had been introduced and there had not been many improvements in agriculture, yet in the middle of the eighteenth century one writer reports that half the people ate wheat bread, the rest still being content with cakes of barley, rye, or oats. This is the more remarkable because the *price* of wheat then was about the same as it was before the Great War, although wages were less than one third what they are to-day. Meat was relatively cheaper than wheat, as it could be purchased for from five cents to fifteen cents a pound. In Ireland meat was less than two cents per pound. The English housewives and cooks did not know how to make good use of materials. Soups were almost unknown, and complaint was made that a Dutch family lived in comparative comfort on nine shillings ($2.17) a week, whereas an English family had less on a weekly income of twenty shillings ($4.86).

Lack of refinement.

Manners at table and elsewhere were unrefined. One book of etiquette stated that well-bred people did not wipe their knives and forks on bread or the table-cloth,

prospered, the manners of the people improved, and the nobility was properly entertained. Tunbridge Wells and Epsom attracted some visitors. Those who could afford to do so and were interested in travel took the "grand tour" through the Continent of Europe.

but on their napkins. Readers were urged not to pick their teeth at table with a knife or fork.[1]

Dances and places of amusement.

The theaters were favorite places of amusement, the plays often being exceedingly coarse. Lotteries were common, and gambling was sport practiced by every gentleman. London had its Vauxhall for celebrations and fairs, which were copied in every provincial town. The stately minuet was given by people of standing, but the commoner folk found more enjoyment in the reel and the country dance. In later decades, foreign fashions and dances were imported by the dandies known as "macaronis," a name which "*Yankee Doodle*" shows was used also in America.

Caricature of a Macaroni

Increase in drunkenness.

50. Intemperance. — The early eighteenth century was notorious for its intemperance. In all earlier ages, the people had drunk immense quantities of beer and ale, but often this had been but half fermented and was therefore almost as much a food as a liquor. From the Dutch and other people of the Continent, the English had acquired a taste for stronger liquor. At this time, one third of the cultivated land of England was planted to barley, chiefly used in making malt drinks. The *total consumption* was about two and one half barrels per capita. As the children probably consumed less than their share, the average for each adult must have been at least three barrels.

One of the important disputes connected with the Hundred Years' War[2] had been the trade in Bordeaux (Bor-do′)

[1] Cf. with E. E. C., § 717.

[2] E. E. C., § 601.

Substitution of port for Bordeaux.

wines between the Ga-ronne′ valley and England. This traffic had continued with some interruptions but with comparatively light taxes until the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 59), when England placed prohibitive duties on Bordeaux wine. Thereafter, French wines were likely to be made "under the sidewalks of London." When the trade in *French wines* was stopped, that with Portugal increased, as Portugal and England were allies against France. For patriotic and other reasons, wealthy Englishmen began to consume large quantities of port.

The curse of gin drinking.

At this time, gin drinking developed into a national habit in the British Isles, and continued so until the outbreak of the Great War. As Lecky says, "Small as is the place which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences that have flowed from it, the most momentous in that of the eighteenth century — incomparably more than any event in the purely political or military annals of the country." [1]

Periods of religious enthusiasm. Different Protestant sects.

51. Religious Conditions in the Early Eighteenth Century. — We have already noted some of the moral conditions of this age. As we look back over the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century, we note that there seem to have been times of religious enthusiasm followed by times of reaction. This is particularly true of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century the English Dissenters were not numerous, but in the early seventeenth century their numbers increased greatly, and they formed many sects. Besides the *Presbyterians* and *Congregationalists* (Independents) (§ 26), there were some *Universalists* and *Unitarians*. Just before the Civil War (§ 31) English Baptists began to organize churches; Roger Williams founded a *Baptist*

[1] Lecky, *England in the XVIII Century*, I, 519.

community in Rhode Island at the same time.[1] A few years later, George Fox established the Society of Friends, popularly known as *Quakers*. They were sincere believers in the importance of conscience and the equality of all persons. Many Quakers came to the middle colonies, especially after William Penn founded Pennsylvania.

Puritan strictness and the reaction against it.

The moral standards of the decade preceding the Restoration were not so much those of the English people as they were the standards of the Puritan faction in control of the government. Exceedingly strict observance of the Sabbath, excessive piety, and the prohibition of sports were characteristic of Puritan rule under the Commonwealth. Under the later Stuarts, there was a decided reaction against Puritanism and all its works, although the English nation did not go to the extreme affected by the court and many nobles.

Irreligion and indifference in the early eighteenth century.

With the advent of the eighteenth century, there was a greater rebellion against Puritanism. People considered religion as a more practical subject than formerly and in time grew indifferent. With the coarseness of the tastes and amusements of the time, this practical view of religion soon degenerated into positive irreligion and various forms of immorality. Particularly was this true in the mining, manufacturing, and seacoast towns where the Dissenters had comparatively little influence and the established church was losing all real hold on the people. This condition of the Church of England was due largely to the fact that many young sons of the nobility went into the church even if they cared nothing for religion, and appointments of clergymen were made with little regard for religious qualifications. Parsons

[1] The Baptists believed in religious toleration, and, in the case of Williams, in religious liberty. They insisted on immersion as the only correct form of baptism.

were selected because they were good fellows rather than because they were good clergymen.

Work of Wesley and Whitefield among miners, fishermen, and others.

52. The Rise of Methodism. — The times were ripe for a new religious movement, when, about 1730, a group of earnest and pious young college men, nicknamed by their fellows the Methodists, set for themselves higher ideals of living and thinking. By a strong emotional appeal to the hearts of their hearers, by preaching a gospel of deeper faith and better living, they gained in the worst communities a strong hold on the people, especially of the poorer class in seacoast and mining towns. The leader of this movement was a man of great organizing ability, John Wesley. Repeatedly, Wesley's life was endangered by the mobs which tried to prevent his preaching. With rare courage and real skill, he escaped the vengeance of the mob, and by his sincerity he made many friends. He was ably assisted by a famous orator, George Whitefield, who swayed large audiences.

Organization of a Methodist church.

Wesley and Whitefield quickly lost the sympathy of the established clergy, who disapproved of the informality of their services and of the methods which they used for making converts. In time Wesley was refused the right to preach in regular Anglican chapels. Eventually Methodism was established as a separate religious body; it erected church buildings and attracted to its membership a different class from that to which originally it made its strongest appeal.

The early Stuarts and Parliament (1603–1629).

53. Summary. — When Elizabeth died, James of Scotland became the first Stuart king (1603–1625). He tried to rule by "divine right," opposing the suggestions of the Puritans for simpler church services and refusing concessions to Parliament except in exchange for supplies. Charles I (1625–1649) was more attractive than his father but no more wise in dealing with Parliament. In 1628 Parliament forced Charles to sign the Petition of

Right which restricted his rights as king. Charles managed without Parliament for eleven years, establishing a uniform high church, levying taxes under the guise of ship money, and trying to force the English church service on the Scotch. This policy caused, first, the great migration to New England, and, later, the opposition of Parliament to the king.

The Puritan Revolution and the Restoration.

In the Long Parliament, the ministers and methods of Charles were attacked. In 1642 the Civil War began, in which the roundheads were completely victorious over the cavaliers. Charles was beheaded as a traitor, and a Commonwealth was declared. Under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, Cromwell ruled strictly but wisely. In 1660 the Restoration occurred. Charles II (1660–1685) became king, and most of the Puritan laws were repealed. Charles tried to rule absolutely. James II (1685–1688) suspended the laws, adopted other absolute methods, and was very unpopular.

Constitutional government.

When a son was born who would be brought up a Catholic, James was forced by the commercial aristocracy and William of Orange to flee from England. The results of this Revolution of 1688 were to make Parliament supreme over the king and to give individuals certain liberties, as speedy trials, freedom of speech, a free press, and religious toleration for all Protestants. New laws provided for the succession to the throne, assured frequent meetings of Parliament, and Parliamentary control of taxation, the army, and other subjects. Still later the House of Commons gained the right to control ministers, or the cabinet. After the Revolution of 1688, Protestant Stuart monarchs ruled England until 1715. In 1707 the personal union of England and Scotland was changed into a United Kingdom of Great Britain. In 1715 George of Hanover became king. Under him and his son, George II, the cabinet system of government already started de-

veloped rapidly, especially during the ministries of Walpole, who kept in power partly by bribery in elections and by giving offices to members of Parliament. The era from the Revolution of 1688 to the American Revolutionary War was one of considerable prosperity. New banking and credit methods were introduced, and naturally speculation was rife. English business and foreign commerce developed rapidly.

Social and moral conditions.

England two centuries ago was much more crude than it is to-day. There were no cities beside London larger than 30,000. Streets were badly paved and lighted; country roads were poor. Intemperance was the rule; irreligion a natural reaction against Puritanism. At this time Methodism started, its leaders working especially among the poor and the degraded.

General References

Coman and Kendall, *History of England*, 285–390.
Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 383–558.
Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 418–590.
Lee, *Source Book of English History*, 333–455.
Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 209–320.
Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution.*
Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 331–491.
Gardiner, *Student's History of England*, 481–701.
Terry, *History of England*, 618–860.
Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 427–675.
Smith, *The United Kingdom*, I, 404–650; II, 1–153, 460–734.
Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 385–539, 587–604.
Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne.*
Roscoe, *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century.*
Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century.*

Topics

Cromwell: Gardiner. *The Puritan Revolution*, 161–191; Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, especially, 133–134, 174–190; Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History.*

Individual Rights after 1688; Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, 150–152; Medley, *Manual of English Constitutional History*, 434–461, 470–479; Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 587–604.

Coffee Houses in Addison's Time: Boynton, *London in English Literature*, 130–138; Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, 161–179; Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London*, 297–305; Roscoe, *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century*, 34–41.

The Cabinet: Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, 163–173; Macy, *English Constitution*, 338–370; Medley, *English Constitutional History*, 112–120; Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 526–539.

Studies

1. The Hampton Court Conference. Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 209–211.
2. Grievances under James I. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 437–442.
3. Petition of Right. Hill, *Liberty Documents*, 66–77.
4. The Parliamentary crisis of 1629. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 347–354.
5. Religious controversy under Charles I. Macy, *English Constitution*, 274–282.
6. The trial of Strafford. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 467–472.
7. The art of war during the early seventeenth century. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, IV, 313–333.
8. Trial and execution of the king. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 485–491.
9. The great fire in London, 1666. Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 270–274.
10. Church and State after the Restoration. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, IV, 483–488.
11. The Revolution of 1688. Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 500–513.
12. Taxes and finance after the Revolution of 1688. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 156–173.
13. Walpole and his system. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 466–477.

14. The Streets of London. Sydney, *England and the English in the XVIII Century*, 9–23.

15. John Wesley and Methodism. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 478–491.

Questions

1. What was meant by the "divine right" of a king to rule? Why did Parliament object to it? How did the doctrine of divine right affect the making of laws? the enforcement of laws? the collection of revenue?

2. Trace the rise of the Puritans. Show the differences between the different parties. What do we in America owe to Puritanism?

3. Give provisions of the Petition of Right. How did Charles raise revenue: before 1628; after 1628? Show how Laud's church policy, ship money, and proposed church changes in Scotland brought on a rebellion. Why was New England settled after 1629 and not at some other time?

4. What was the Long Parliament? What did it do? Describe Puritan rule under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

5. Why is the Restoration (1660) important in English history? Show how the government after 1660 changed its colonial policy, how it reflected the wishes of the people more than before, and how it did more for the commercial classes.

6. State the causes of the Revolution of 1688, the chief events, and the two general results.

7. Name and discuss at least three ways in which Parliament was supreme over the king after 1688; three respects in which people had more rights.

8. In the period before 1685 trace briefly the growth of Parliament. Notice what powers were gained by it as a result of the Revolution of 1688. Show why and how cabinet government was developed in England to a large extent before 1760.

9. What is a commercial bank like? Why does it help a government administer its finances, and how does it help business? If *credit* is so valuable, why were the South Sea Bubble and other radical credit schemes disastrous? Do the commercial wars between England and Holland and England and France prove that the English people rather than the government were interested in extending English business and trade?

10. Write an account of an imaginary visit to London in the age of Queen Anne. (Include something on travel, inns, and food, as well as something on the streets, buildings, and coffee houses of the city.)

11. Compare the size of eighteenth century newspapers and the rates for sending newspapers or letters by post, with modern American newspapers and corresponding postal rates of the present time. Name at least three writers of that day; give a title of some book or poem of each, and describe at least one piece of literature.

12. Give some idea of intemperance in England two centuries ago, taking into account the difference between distilled spirits, wines, and fermented liquors.

13. What Protestant sects developed in the sixteenth century; which in the seventeenth and which later? Give some reasons for the lack of piety in the century following the Puritan Revolution in England. To what extent did Wesley and the early Methodists meet a real need?

CHAPTER III

ABSOLUTISM ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

The Age of Louis XIV

Long but unprofitable reign of Louis XIV.

54. General Character of Louis' Reign. — A year after the death of Richelieu, Louis XIV, a lad of five years, became king of France. His reign of nearly three quarters of a century (1643–1715) is famous in the annals of courts and of wars. It will always stand as the most perfect type of absolutism; "but despite all its real and not inconsiderable success the reign was, in the larger sight of history, a reign of deceiving ambitions and profound failure." [1]

Ambitions and policy of Louis XIV.

During the boyhood of the king, the real ruler of France was the Italian, *Maz-a-rin'*, a cardinal who tried to carry out the policies of Richelieu. With the death of Mazarin, Louis became king in fact. The character of his rule is indicated in that often-quoted phrase, which Louis himself probably never used, "I am the State." To govern absolutely, to enlarge the boundaries of France, to be the center of the most distinguished court in Europe, to be the most prominent figure in world politics — these were the ambitions of Louis XIV.

Importance of Louis XIV's court.

55. Extravagance of Louis' Court. — Louis spent vast sums on his court. He erected at Ver-sailles' a magnificent new palace which cost more than a hundred million dollars. This was the first truly royal palace of the French kings. To *Louis' court at Versailles* flocked all of the nobles of France.

[1] Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, p. 00.

The highest honor which a man of good birth could obtain was a position at court, for no burgher, however successful, was allowed a share in the festivities at Versailles. There was no disgrace so keen for a prominent noble as exclusion from the presence of the king. To accept Louis' favor at Versailles meant that the noble had absolutely surrendered not only his rights to rule as a feudal lord

General View, Palace of Versailles

but his right to think for himself and to criticize the king. By this means Louis "imposed on the high nobility a gilded captivity." Political feudalism could make no stand against an absolutism supported by such prestige and splendor.

Influence of the French court and methods abroad.

This court was copied by all other ambitious monarchs. French became the language of diplomats. French methods of dress and of palace decoration, French ceremonials, and French literature became the fashion. Louis XIV's international as well as national preëminence was, in a real sense, that of an autocratic social leader.

Financial reforms a paternalism of Colbert.

56. Colbert. — The genius of Col-bert′, an expert financier and economist, was taxed to pay for the extravagances of the court and the heavy expenses of Louis' wars. He doubled the revenues of the king without adding to the taxes paid by the people. Colbert, however,

was more than a minister of finance; he was the foremost advocate of mercantilism.[1] Being anxious to build up the manufactures of France, he created a series of protective tariffs which practically excluded from France all foreign manufactured articles that competed with French manufactures. By this protection Colbert built up many new industries, such as silk spinning and weaving. He also secured laws which regulated the making of many articles.[2]

COLBERT

Objections to paternalism in France under Louis XIV.

Such a system is called *paternalism*, for it looks after the people with the care that a father might show. So much supervision might have been helpful, if the old rules of the trade gilds had not still been in force in France, and if trade had not been restricted by the medieval systems of tolls. What France needed was more freedom rather than more regulation.

The loss to France of many skilled Huguenot workers.

57. Economic Effects of Revoking the Edict of Nantes (1685). — Soon after the death of Colbert, Louis XIV, influenced no doubt by his favorite, Madame de Maintenon, began to persecute the Huguenots. In the homes

[1] E. E. C., § 727.

[2] Colbert succeeded in lowering the price of wheat to consumers, but that caused many farmers to raise other crops. Under him manufactures, which formerly had been mere imitations of Italian or Flemish goods, became superior to the originals. Chief among these were laces, tapestries, gold-embroidered cloths, carpets, porcelains, and fine glass.

of those that refused to renounce their religion were quartered dragoons, who were allowed many excesses. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which religious toleration had been granted to the Huguenots by Henry IV, the first Bour'bon king of France. The Huguenots, hard-working, industrious, and prosperous, were no longer permitted to hold religious services, yet they were forbidden to leave France. In spite of that prohibition, many did leave the country, carrying their skill and their thrift to Holland, Prussia, England, or America. Their emigration was a great economic loss to France.

Louis XIV

58. Wars of Louis XIV for New Eastern Boundaries. — Louis XIV wished to protect Paris,[1] which is only 110 miles from the northeastern boundary of France. He also desired new territories in the valley of the Rhine River. He tried first to seize certain districts claimed by his wife in the Spanish or *Belgian Netherlands*. He was victorious until the Dutch formed against him a successful coalition of several countries. Later, Louis made war upon the *Dutch*. Under the leadership of their new Stadtholder, William of Orange, the Dutch formed a new coalition against Louis and won

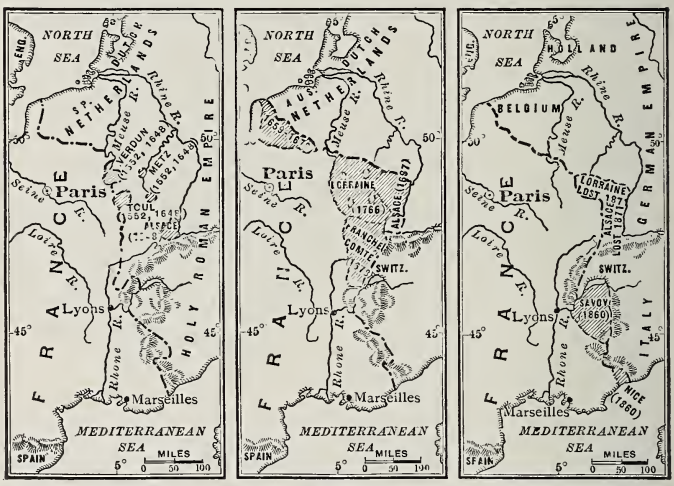
Belgian and Dutch wars.

[1] The nearness of Paris to the northeastern French boundary was an important cause of the German "drive" through Belgium and northeastern France at the beginning of the great European war in 1914 (§ 000).

the war, which brought Louis more enemies than victories.

Beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War" between France and England.

Louis' next move, some ten years later, was to seize the Pa-lat'i-nate along the Rhine.[1] This attempt was made just a few months before James II was driven from the throne of England, when Louis' chief opponent, William of Orange, became king of England as William III.



EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF FRANCE.

England was now brought definitely into war with France, and the conflicts between these ancient enemies continued until Napoleon was beaten by Wellington at Waterloo in 1815 (§ 158). This series of wars is sometimes called the Second Hundred Years' War. It was due to old rivalry and to dynastic jealousies, to competition for trade and foreign markets, but chiefly to a desire for colonial supremacy in America and in India.

[1] The War of the Palatinate, known in America as King William's War, ended with the Treaty of Ryswick (1697).

59. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713). — Louis XIV was not content to make France larger and more prominent. He persuaded the childless king of Spain, Charles II, to select Louis' younger grandson as his heir.[1] Without great delay an alliance of several countries, including England and Austria, was formed against Louis. Each ally wished to maintain the "balance of power," which should keep any one country from becoming too powerful. Led by the brilliant but unstable Duke of Marl'borough and by the able Prince Eugene of Savoy, the forces of the allies won a notable victory over the French army at Blen'heim near the upper Danube (1704). When the triumphant allies sought to invade France, they were unsuccessful, because of a great chain of fortresses built by a French engineer, Vau-ban'. Their victories therefore did them little good.

Causes and events of the war.

Duke of Marlborough

In 1711 the Archduke Charles[2] became emperor of Germany. The allies could no more permit Charles to rule both Spain and Germany than they could allow Philip to

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

[1] Louis XIV's mother was the granddaughter of Philip II of Spain and his wife had been a Spanish princess. When Louis had received assurance from most European monarchs that they would not object to a Bourbon king on the throne of Spain as well as on that of France, he cried out in exultation, "The Pyrenees are no more."

[2] Austria put forward the Archduke Charles as the claimant of the allies to the Spanish throne. The Spaniards wanted Philip but feared that their country might be absorbed by France.

be king of Spain, with the possibility that he might also become king of France. They agreed, in the Treaty of *Utrecht* (1713), that Philip should be king of Spain on condition that the thrones of France and Spain should never be united.[1]

English gains and French losses.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada represented the first stage in the rise of England as a world power; this war, known in America as Queen Anne's War, marks the second. It left France in a state of exhaustion, hampered by a useless and extravagant court. After the death of Louis XIV in 1715, France no longer enjoyed the prestige and the power that had been hers under the "grande monarque."

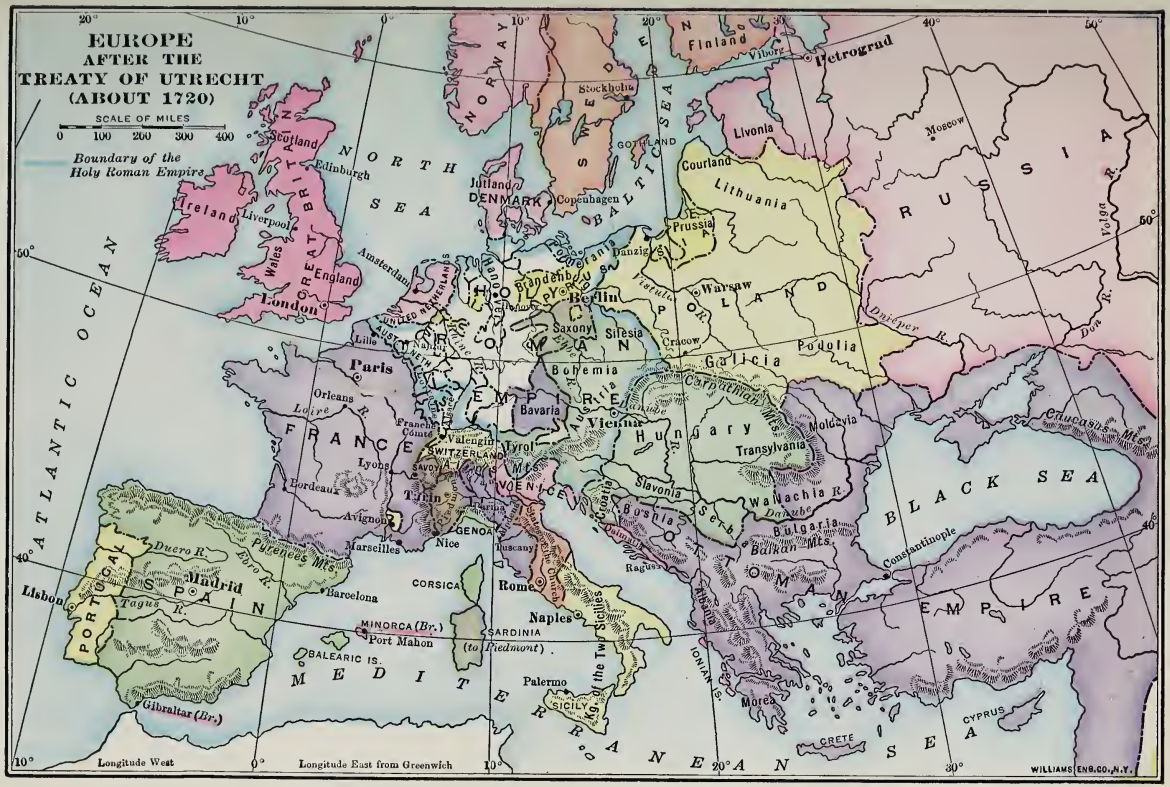
The Rise of Russia

Russia under the rule of Norsemen and Mongols.

60. Russia before Peter the Great. — Under the successors of Ru'rik the Viking[2] the Russians were converted to the Greek Catholic form of Christianity and enjoyed considerable trade with the Byzantine empire. In the thirteenth century the country was overrun by the westernmost of the Mongols or Tartars, called the Golden Horde. To the leaders of the Golden Horde the princes of Russia paid tribute for more than two hundred years. Finally the *princes of Moscov*, having brought all of the neighboring Russian nobles under their sway, revolted against the rule of the Golden Horde. They had little difficulty in gaining their independence, for the day of Mongol supremacy was over, except in China and in India.

[1] As a result of treaties made between 1713 and 1721, Austria gained the Belgian Netherlands and Spanish territories in Italy. The house of Savoy acquired Sardinia, the beginning of the present kingdom of Italy. England kept Gibraltar, which she had captured during the war, and secured from France Acadia, all of Newfoundland, and territory around Hudson's Bay in America.

[2] E. E. C., § 463.


EUROPE
AFTER THE
TREATY OF UTRECHT
(ABOUT 1720)
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
Scotland
Edinburgh
Ireland
Liverpool
Wales
England
London
NORWAY
Stockholm
SWEDEN
Finland
Viborg
Petrograd
Moscow
RUSSIA
Livonia
Courland
Lithuania
Prussia
Jutland
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Gothland
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
Rhine R.
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Danzig
Berlin
Warsaw
POLAND
Dnieper R.
Dwina R.
Volga R.
Lille
Paris
Orleans
Loire R.
Saxony
Silesia
Cracow
Podolia
Galicia
Bohemia
Carpathian Mts.
Bavaria
Vienna
Hungary
Moldavia
Transylvania
Caucasus Mts.
Franche Comté
Valtelin
SWITZERLAND
Tyrol
Lyons
Savoy
Milan
VENICE
Bordeaux
Turin
Slavonia
Croatia
Bosnia
Wallachia R.
Danube
Avignon
Marseilles
GENOA
Nice
Tuscany
Bulgaria
Balkan Mts.
Constantinople
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Pyrenees Mts.
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Barcelona
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
Ragusa
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Is.
MINORCA (Br.)
Port Mahon
SARDINIA
(to Piedmont)
BALEARIC IS.
Palermo
Kg. of the Two Sicilies
SICILY
Morea
CRETE
CYPRUS
Gibraltar (Br.)
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
WILLIAMS EN'G.CO., N.Y.

Under *Ivan the Great* and Ivan the Terrible, contemporaries of the Tudor monarchs, a new Russia arose in eastern Europe. The people were still barbarians and they still clung to Mongol customs. Although they had established a little trade with England through the

The new Russia under Ivan III and Ivan IV.

General View of the Kremlin, Moscow, Russia

Mus'co-vy Company, they were essentially an Asiatic people in their ideas, their interests, and their development.

61. Peter the Great. — The modernizing of Russia was to a great extent the work of Peter the Great. Peter became the sole ruler of Russia in the year 1689, at the beginning of the Second Hundred Years' War between France and England. He was a man of extraordinary personality and a hard worker. Though possessed with a determination to make Russia a European country, Peter was in many respects a barbarian to the day of his death.

Personality and purposes of Peter.

Western experience and absolutism.

In order to understand western civilization Peter spent two years in Germany, Holland, and England, working as a common ship carpenter in Holland and studying everything with untiring interest and zeal. He tried to absorb European culture and civilization in order that he might know through experience what his people should have.

Peter the Great

Customs changed by Peter.

62. Reforms of Peter the Great. — On his return from the West, Peter persuaded or forced the Russians to *adopt many European customs.* In place of the long cloaks, he insisted that the people wear the short trousers and the hats in use in western Europe. He placed a heavy tax on beards. When many of the nobles sought to keep their patriarchal beards, it is said that he stood at a gate of Moscow and with his own hands cut off the offensive ornaments.

Economic, religious, and educational changes.

Peter brought to Russia thousands of able and skillful foreigners to teach his people. He tried to establish workshops or factories like those in the West and to build up trade between Holland, England, and Russia. Many religious reforms were introduced that won him the dislike of some pious people at home and abroad. He established *schools* of an eminently practical character — engineering schools or business colleges rather than classical schools. He encouraged his subjects to read, to translate, and to print, European books on history, agriculture, economics, and other subjects

which would help them to understand European civilization.[1]

Peter did not succeed perfectly, for the Russians really believed their proverb " novelty brings calamity," yet he hastened the Europeanization of Russia. To prevent the undoing of his work, in 1718 Peter caused the death of his son A-lex'is by torture, because Alexis stood for the " old order " and opposed the innovations of his father.

Opposition to Peter of the nobles and of his son Alexis.

63. Expansion of Russia. — Inasmuch as Russia grew out of the principality of Moscow, it has always been an *inland country,* and a great deal of her history consists of attempts to gain seacoast. Large as she is to-day, Russia has very little valuable seacoast which brings her into close contact with the outside world. Although all of the Ro'ma-noffs [2] have felt the great need of desirable sea outlets, Peter the Great realized that need more than any other. The opportunity seemed to come to Russia when the king of Sweden died in 1697, leaving a son, Charles XII, only fifteen years of age. For a century *Sweden* had been the great power of the North, and her possessions around the Baltic kept other countries away from that sea. At first Charles defeated all of his enemies by his brilliant strategy, but his successes turned his head, and in the end he was completely beaten by Peter.

Russia's desire for seacoast and conflict with Sweden for the Baltic.

In the north, on the Neva River, Peter founded a new capital, facing the West and in touch with western civilization. This was *Petrograd,* for two centuries called St. Petersburg. Peter also tried to gain a foothold on the Black Sea, but in this he was unsuccessful. The desire

Russian struggle for Black Sea coast and for Constantinople.

[1] Peter did not allow women to be kept in their former oriental seclusion, but urged them to appear in public without veils and in open litters. He insisted that engaged couples should be allowed to see each other, and to break off the engagement if they did not desire to marry.

[2] In 1613 a Russian noble, Michael *Romanoff,* became tsar. His descendants occupied the Russian throne until 1917 (§ 000). They are called Romanoffs.

to gain an outlet from the Black Sea via Constantinople aroused the antagonism first of England and France, and later of Germany, so that *the struggle for Constantinople* has been an important feature of international diplomacy during the last century.

Russia in Siberia and in Central Asia.

Before Peter's time traders and merchants had crossed the plains of *Siberia*. Like the French traders and explorers who at this time were gaining the Mississippi Valley for France, and the Hudson's Bay Company trappers who were securing British America for England, even in Peter's day the merchants of Russia carried her rule to the Pacific. A few years later, Bering's explorations brought Russians to Alaska, which later (1867) was sold to the United States. In the nineteenth century other lands were added in central Asia and on the Pacific coast near Japan. Trade was an important factor in the making of the Russian empire as well as in the formation of the British empire.

Catherine favored reform but accomplished little.

64. Catherine II of Russia. — The ruler of Russia from 1760 to 1796 was Catherine II. Catherine was a German princess who came to the throne after the sudden death of her husband, the tsar. She was a woman of considerable charm, but was ambitious and unscrupulous. Catherine attempted to carry on the work of Peter the Great in making Russia a leading European power. She really wished to introduce in Russia reforms by which laws should be improved[1] and justice should be given to all, a larger share in government should be extended to the people, and serfdom should be abolished. She tried to establish national schools taught exclusively by Russian teachers. Actually she accomplished very little, for at

[1] Catherine called a great commission to codify the laws. To the commission she asserted that the nation is not made for the sovereign but the sovereign for the nation. Equality consists in the obedience of the citizens to the law alone; liberty is the right to do everything not forbidden by law. War interfered with the completion of the code.

the end of her reign the serf was worse off than he had been at the beginning, and the people had gained only the forms of self-government.

Catherine was more in earnest, and more successful, in her foreign plans. *She seized territory* on the Black Sea and thus gained an outlet for Russian commerce through the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. She gained Baltic lands that gave Russia a seacoast on the northwest as well as on the south. Finally, with the coöperation of Prussia and Austria, she gained half of Poland.

Catherine extended the territory of Russia.

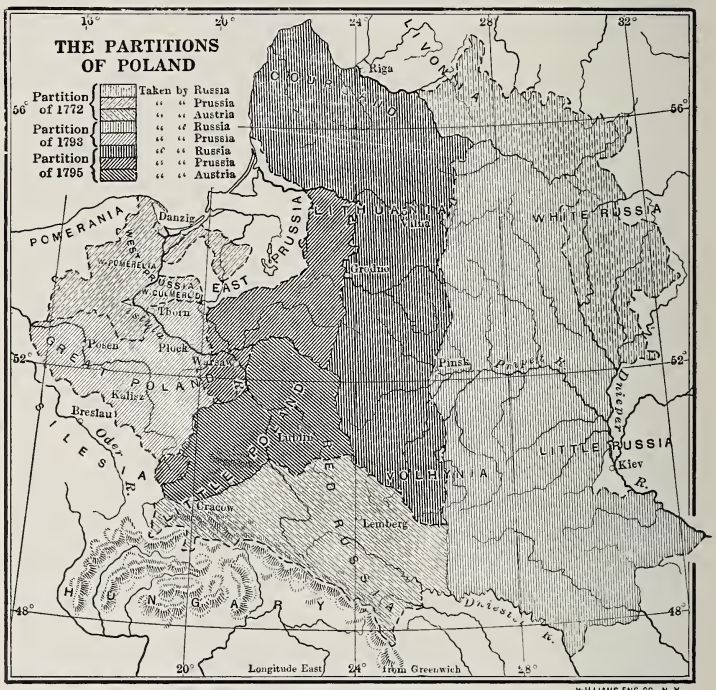
65. The Partitions of Poland. — In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were two European countries whose governments were badly disorganized and which in consequence were a prey to their neighbors' cupidity. These two were Germany and Poland. As we have seen, the Rhine states of the Holy Roman Empire had not been able to protect themselves against Louis XIV, although the empire included the two powerful monarchies of Prussia and Austria. Poland, on the other hand, was an undeveloped country, backward in almost every respect and *misruled by a large body of nobles*, under the nominal leadership of a king. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, there had been reason to think that Poland would become one of the great powers of Europe. Her own people had begun to unite, she had acquired the "Baltic provinces" almost to the Gulf of Finland, and in 1569 she had almost doubled her territory by absorbing, on equal terms, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Just at that crisis her king died without an heir and the Polish nobles never gave the people a chance to become a united nation. So undependable was the government that in the last half of the seventeenth century the annual diet of the nobles had broken up in disorder every year but four.

Disorganization, disorder, and former greatness of Poland.

Poland therefore fell an easy prey to the greed of her neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. In 1772 each

Division of Poland between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

annexed a piece of the unfortunate country.[1] This high-handed act called forth much adverse comment from other nations, but none was willing to fight in order to protect the Poles. Later Russia forced Poland to elect her candidate as king, and twice later (1793,[2] 1795) Poland was



Partitions of Poland

further divided. Kosc-i-us'ko, who had fought with Washington, bravely tried to defend his country against the robbers, but without success. After 1795, Poland

[1] Prussia in 1772 gained West Prussia which joined the old mark of Brandenburg to East Prussia. This annexation was exceedingly valuable in uniting Prussian territories. In the first partition, Austria gained Galicia, where so many battles have been fought in the Great War.

[2] Austria did not share in the second partition of Poland.

no longer existed as a separate country. Later, Russia (§ 171) gained most of the Polish territory that in 1793 and 1795 had been acquired by Prussia and Austria.

The Rise of Prussia

Slow development of Brandenburg under the Hohenzollerns.

66. Early History of Brandenburg. — Russia was not the only new power that arose in the eighteenth century, for, under Frederick the Great, the country that we know as Prussia began to play an important part in European politics. *Modern Prussia has grown out of the mark of Bran'den-burg*, which was established as a bulwark or buffer state against the invasions of the Slavs.[1] By the Golden Bull (1356) the ruler of Brandenburg was recognized as a regular "elector" of the emperor, and for several centuries was called the elector of Brandenburg. Since 1415 the rulers of Prussia have belonged to the House of Ho-henzol'lern.

Brandenburg becomes Protestant and gains East Prussia.

The Hohenzollerns were not received with open arms by their nobles, but they quickly put an end to opposition by using the fifteenth century prototypes of the Krupp guns which have been so effective in the Great War. The second elector enlarged the boundaries of his mark. "From that day to this, with but one or two exceptions, each ruler in turn, by inheritance, by purchase, by conquest, or by peaceful annexation, has added something to his original domains." [2]

Most of the people of Brandenburg were Protestants, but the elector did not become a Protestant until after his mother had lived for several months at the home of Martin Luther. In 1618 the elector became the ruler of the duchy of East Prussia, a feudal dependency of Poland.

67. Prussia before Frederick the Great. — The ablest ruler of Prussia before Frederick the Great was the

[1] E. E. C., § 462.

[2] Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, p. 2.

Rule of the Great Elector.

"*Great Elector,*" who made himself absolute in his scattered possessions and by his skill in diplomacy gained important concessions for Prussia. He encouraged the immigration of skilled artisans, especially of Huguenots who fled from France when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes.

Grandfather and father of Frederick the Great.

In 1701 the elector of Brandenburg became the *king of Prussia.*[1] His successor, the father of Frederick the Great, saved money, trained a large army, and gathered a famous body guard of giant grenadiers.

Maria Theresa Monument, Vienna

Frederick and Prussia.

68. Frederick the Great and His Wars. — Frederick the Great (1740–1786) became king of Prussia a quarter of a century after the death of Louis XIV, and fifteen years after Peter the Great passed away. Frederick was a man of ambition and intelligence, a warrior, a statesman, and a patron of all the arts.

The War of the Austrian Succession.

Frederick had just become king when the emperor died, leaving no son. The youthful Maria Theresa as-

[1] He now had no more territory than before, and of course Brandenburg was worth forty Prussias. Why then was he called king of Prussia and not king of Brandenburg? The reason is this: Within the Holy Roman Empire there was opposition to the creation of any more kingdoms, but Prussia, unlike Brandenburg, was outside of the empire. The emperor was therefore persuaded, in return for money and troops that he needed in the War of the Spanish Succession, to let the elector of Brandenburg call himself king of Prussia.

ceded the Austrian throne. Her father had tried to secure international agreements that her territories and power should be respected. Frederick the Great treated his written promise as a "scrap of paper"; immediately he tried to get the province of Silesia, to which he thought he had a fair claim. France and other countries joined him in his war against Austria. Maria Theresa found friends in England and Holland, but Frederick's victories in the field caused her to buy his withdrawal from the war by the cession of Silesia. This was the *War of the Austrian Succession*, known in America as King George's War.

Seven Years' War and the conflict for colonial supremacy.

A few years later, in 1756, there broke out in Europe, in America, and in Asia a great international conflict known as the *Seven Years' War*. In this war England and Prussia were arrayed against France, Austria, Spain, and other countries. It was a war between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in central Europe, ending with slight gains for Prussia. But it was a war preëminently for colonial supremacy, in the New World and the Old, between the decaying monarchy of Louis XIV and the new constitutional kingdom and empire of Great Britain. France lost all her colonies on the continent of America and in India (§ 86). The brilliant success of the English under the guidance of her great prime minister, William Pitt, marked the third step in the rise of England to the position of a world power. After this war Frederick and his enemies were at peace during the remainder of his reign.

Frederick II of Prussia as a reformer.

69. Frederick the Great in Peace. — Besides the granting of religious toleration, Frederick II of Prussia introduced many reforms in his country, for Frederick was an intimate friend of Voltaire and had studied the works of other reform philosophers; therefore he was one of the most enlightened despots of his time.

Legal Reforms.

One of his first *reforms* was an attempt to improve the laws of Prussia. Although many changes were made dur-

ing his lifetime, a complete code of laws of the country was not published until after his death. He sent some of his ablest lawyers to different parts of his kingdom in order to settle lawsuits that had been dragging on for years.

Agricultural aid. Colonization.

He helped his people by draining the swamps and reclaiming the lands which had been waste. After the great Seven Years' War, he granted to farmers whose houses and barns had been burned sums of money with which to replace necessary farm buildings. Upon some of these lands and some that were unoccupied, he settled immigrants, a few of whom came from outside the boundaries of Prussia. Many of the immigrants that were encouraged to make their homes in Prussia were skilled artisans, who not only carried on their own craft to the advantage of Prussia but also taught the people better methods, for example, in making butter and in weaving silk.

Frederick the Great

Protective duties and smuggling.

To *protect home industries* and also to gain revenue for those expensive undertakings and for the army, Frederick levied protective duties on the goods brought into Prussia. In spite of the fact that the government used more severe measures against smugglers than did the English government against Americans who evaded the Navi-

gation Acts (§ 81) [1] very little revenue was secured and industry did not develop rapidly.

Attitude toward serfdom.

Frederick believed that men should be personally free. He therefore abolished serfdom on the royal lands in the eastern part of his domain. But even the great Frederick found it impossible to do away with serfdom, or greatly to relieve the serfs, on the lands of the nobles.

Age of Louis XIV.

70. Summary. — The reign of Louis XIV of France was a period of display, the grand monarque being the first personage in Europe. Louis' minister, Colbert, improved the finances, created protective tariffs, and regulated industry. Louis counteracted the good effect of Colbert's work by spending vast sums on his palace and court at Versailles and on his wars, and by revoking the Edict of Nantes, thereby driving many thrifty Huguenots out of France. Because most of western Europe was united against him, Louis failed in four wars, those against the Belgians and the Dutch, and those fought for the possession of the Palatinate and to place his grandson on the Spanish throne. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) closed the period of French greatness but not of French absolutism.

The rise of Russia.

Modern Russia grew out of the principality of Moscow after the Moscow princes threw off the Mongol yoke. The Europeanization of Russia was due largely to Peter the Great (1682–1725), who made himself absolute, brought in foreigners, and introduced western books, schools, and customs. Russia enlarged her territories to the Baltic Sea, at the expense of Sweden; to the Black Sea, at the expense of Turkey; and across Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. Under Catherine II, formerly a German princess, Russia gained half of Poland in the three partitions of that misgoverned and unhappy country.

Brandenburg, under the Hohenzollerns, became Prot-

[1] Ashley, *American History*, §§ 121–123.

The rise of Prussia.

estant and acquired the duchy of Prussia. In 1701 the elector of Brandenburg assumed the title of king of Prussia. The two great Prussian rulers before the nineteenth century were the Great Elector and Frederick the Great, both of whom were famous in war and in peace. At the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Prussia's territories were still much scattered, and she was inferior to Austria as a German power; later, she acquired part of Poland. Frederick the Great was distinguished for his wars, for the reforms of the laws and law courts, and for the help he gave his people in raising their standard of living.

General References

Schville, *History of Modern Europe*, 200–247.

Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 345–386, 406–433.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 1–82.

Duruy, *History of Modern Times*, 311–433.

Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France* (Periods, V), 184–371.

Hassall, *The Balance of Power* (Periods, VI), 1–279, 298–331.

Morfill, *Story of Russia.*

Dole, *Young Folks' History of Russia.*

Rambaud, *History of Russia*, especially II, 13–126, 203–220.

Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 1–218.

Cambridge Modern History, V., VI.

Topic

Peter the Great and His Work: Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 57–63; Seignobos, *Contemporary Civilization*, 17–28; Rambaud, *History of Russia*, II, 33–39, 76–105; Howe, *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, 84–123.

Studies

1. Louis XIV. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 5–12.

2. Court and ceremonial at Versailles. Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 351–356.

3. Colbert. Duruy, *History of France*, 419–425.

4. Wars of Louis XIV on the Belgians and Dutch. Duruy, *History of France*, 430–439.

5. Warfare and armies on the Continent. Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 375–386.

6. The problems of the Spanish Succession. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 39–46.

7. The sciences, literature, and arts on the Continent. Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 419–433.

8. Russia under the Mongols. Larned (ed.), *History for Ready Reference*, IV, 2756–2758.

9. How Peter the Great forced his people to wear western dress. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 61–63.

10. Charles XII. Schville, *Modern Europe*, 221–226.

11. Government and reforms of Catherine II. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, II, 203–220.

12. Partitions of Poland. Phillips, *Poland*, 58–87.

13. Conditions in Europe at beginning of the eighteenth century. Hassall, *Balance of Power* (Periods, VI), 1–7.

14. Prussia before the Thirty Years' War. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 1–8.

15. Frederick the Great in time of peace. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 182–204.

Questions

1. In what way was Louis XIV famous? In what respects was he great? Show how his court at Versailles was valued by the nobles and by other monarchs.

2. What did Colbert do for France? Why was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes an economic as well as a religious mistake?

3. Discuss Louis' objects in making war. Why did he fail? In what respect or respects did he succeed? Give the provisions, and show the importance, of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

4. Trace the history of Russia before the time of Peter the Great. How did Peter learn western ways? How did he make himself absolute? How did he Europeanize Russia?

5. Discuss the expansion of Russia? Why is more seacoast a present need of both Russia and Germany? Will not the time come when Russia will seize the seacoasts that she needs?

6. Show why the Partition of Poland was possible in the late eighteenth century. Consider internal conditions (§ 65) and diplomacy of the period. Name two good results that followed the downfall of Polish rule.

7. Is the policy of the ruling Hohenzollern different from that of his ancestors as explained in section 67?

8. Why is modern Prussia largely the work of the Great Elector and of Frederick the Great?

9. What was the general nature of absolutism in England during the seventeenth century and later on the Continent? How did it pave the way for revolution? Give a résumé of the old order (consult §§ 111–119).

CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL EMPIRE

How the struggle for trade became a contest for territory.

71. Periods of International Conquest. — The struggle of the European nations for trade began earlier than that for territory. It was connected especially with the contest for a share in the eastern trade. After Columbus discovered America, however, in order that any people might have *commerce*, it was necessary that they should hold *territory*. In consequence large areas were seized and kept by the competing nations, not for homes, but for profit. *Practically all of the colonizing was done by great commercial companies.* Even among the English, who were the only distinctively colonizing people, that is, people who sought homes, the early colonies were established by commercial companies such as the Virginia Company.

Great rivals in the different centuries.

Before the close of the sixteenth century the contest was particularly sharp between *Spain* and *Portugal*, although even before that time the English, French, and Dutch were interested in distant trade. In the seventeenth century the conflict was primarily between the *Dutch* and the *English*. From the Revolution of 1688 to the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, the great international contest was between the *English* on the one side and the *French* on the other.[1]

[1] Although both France and England were particularly anxious to extend their foreign business, the contest was not simply a struggle for trade, but it included a world-wide effort to extend colonial dominions.

Contest for Atlantic Trade Before 1700

Division of the non-civilized world between Spain and Portugal.

72. Spain *vs.* Portugal. — Before the close of the sixteenth century Columbus and Ves-pu'ci-us had carried the flag of Spain to the tropical islands and mainland of the New World, Vasco da Gama had led the Portuguese around Africa to India,[1] and the Pope had divided the uncivilized world, giving *Spain the western half* and *Portugal control in the eastern hemisphere*.[2]

Reasons for the successes and failures of Spain.

It will be seen from these statements that the rivalry between Spain and Portugal did not bring them actively into conflict. Spain found that the New World contained more land than she could occupy; the mineral wealth of Mexico and Peru and the agricultural products of the West Indies furnished for her all the articles of commerce which her merchant marine could handle. In fact the great area of America dissipated rather than concentrated the colonizing strength of Spain. In like manner her ability to seize the treasures of Mexico and Peru made her dissatisfied with the slower process of acquiring wealth by growing sugar, tobacco, and other tropical products on the plantations of the West India Islands. Coupled with the narrow policy of Spain toward business in the Spanish peninsula as well as in the colonies,[3] the development of Spain was superficial and her commercial prosperity was not solid or lasting.[4]

Fisheries as a training for maritime power.

73. Dutch and English Fisheries. — In order to understand how different industries were connected with the international rivalry and contest for colonies, let us study some of them, the fisheries, the fur trade, tobacco,[5]

[1] E. E. C., § 656. [2] E. E. C., § 654. [3] E. E. C., § 693.

[4] Portuguese development was likewise superficial. We need not take up again the unfortunate methods used by the Portuguese in the East (E. E. C., § 656); we need simply note that because of those methods the Portuguese colonies fell an easy prey to the enterprising Dutch traders after the organization of the Dutch East India Company in 1602.

[5] Tobacco in Virginia is considered later (§ 78).

and sugar. In a very true sense the commercial greatness of Holland and England had a very humble origin. Long before the sailors and merchants of either nation gained control of the trade of northern Europe and of distant commerce with the East and America, they were learning the terrors of the deep through their fishing experiences in the *North Sea*.

How Dutch fishing supremacy yielded to the English.

The Dutch made use of these fishing opportunities before the English appreciated their value. It is said

Dutch Fishing Boats

that within three days, in the first year of the seventeenth century, fifteen hundred fishing boats sailed from Holland for the herring shoals of the North Sea. A few years later it was estimated that the value of the fish caught by the Dutch exceeded in value the manufactures of England and France combined.[1] English supremacy in

[1] With their usual thoroughness the Dutch perfected means of catching, drying, and curing fish which were far superior to those in use among the English or any other peoples. The superiority of the Dutch methods

the fisheries of the North Sea did not begin until, during the later seventeenth century, England in a series of wars (§ 76) sought to destroy Dutch commerce.[1]

Reasons for French supremacy in the Newfoundland fisheries.

74. Influence of Fish and Furs in the Development of America. — When John Cabot and later voyagers brought word that the western sea around *Newfoundland* swarmed with fish, sailors from northern France and from western England set out for these more distant fields in which there was an abundance of fish for all comers. The French rather than the English took advantage of these opportunities[2]; since the large number of holidays authorized by the Roman Catholic Church created a demand for fish which did not exist in Protestant England, after she separated from the church of Rome. The first serious attempt at colonization on the part of the French, which was made under Cartier and Roberval in 1540, was not successful; but the fishing business developed throughout the sixteenth century, and, in the early part of the seventeenth, made possible the first permanent French settlements in Acadia and at Quebec in Canada.

Importance of the fisheries in the settlement of New England.

When the Pilgrim Fathers established (1620) the first permanent settlement in New England, there were some fishing huts used by transient fishermen on the New England coast. The food supply of the Pilgrims and of other Puritans who later settled in New England came

and their skill in finding new markets for fish and other products made it impossible for either the English or the French to compete with them.

[1] The North Sea fisheries were more than an important source of wealth among the people of Holland, England, and other countries. The fishing fleets of each nation were convoyed and protected by armed vessels, which sometimes clashed. Out of this conflict grew international difficulties which have had an important influence on *the development of international law*. In connection with the fishing rights of the Dutch in the North Sea, Gro'ti-us, sometimes called the father of international law, wrote one of his most important books.

[2] On account of their location England and Holland made use of the North Sea fisheries, while the French took chief advantage of those off Newfoundland.

very largely from the sea, and the only profitable commodity of commerce, which they sold in Europe and in the West Indies, was secured from the ocean. Without these fisheries it is therefore probable that the New England colonies would not have been very successful.

Areas exploited by different European countries.

The *fur trade* with the Indians of the interior of the northern states and Canada led to extensive explorations and to a well-developed trade. In the North, French fur traders went far inland, penetrating the Great Lake region and the northern tributaries of the Mississippi river. The Dutch and later the English, through the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, gained control of an extensive fur trade south of the Great Lakes. There was developed later by the English in the Hudson Bay region a fur-trading company which was destined to bring under English dominion all western Canada. The fur trade was, therefore, a source of profit and led to exploration and even to armed conflicts between rival nations.

Reasons for the international importance of sugar.

75. Sugar and Slavery. — During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the most important import of the United States was sugar. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the same thing was true of England, since sugar was the most valuable commodity imported. Sugar cane grows only in a very hot climate. It calls for labor which Europeans are unwilling and unable to furnish. For these reasons sugar has played an important part in the development of commerce and in international relations; first, because cane sugar, the only kind used before 1850 (§ 209), cannot be grown in any part of Europe and therefore must be transported from tropical countries, preferably a country's own colonies. It was important economically in the second place because it demanded a large supply of menial or slave labor, and therefore was largely responsible for the development of African slavery in America, and because it has

caused an international struggle for the islands and possessions where it can be grown most successfully.

Causes and extent of the African slave trade.

The Spanish tried to make use of the Indians as slaves on their plantations, but the natives did not prove hardy enough for such heavy work. In consequence, the Portuguese and Spanish traders soon sent to Africa for a supply of slaves to be employed on plantations for the cultivation of sugar, rice, tobacco, indigo, and other products. Native African princes at first sold the captives taken in war; then a regular slave trade was organized with the interior of the Dark Continent, the purchasers being Portuguese, Spanish, or English traders. In spite of great loss of life on the terrible "middle passage" from Africa to America, large numbers of negroes were imported into the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English colonies, especially those in tropical and semi-tropical lands. It is said that the annual number brought to American plantations was about twenty-five thousand before 1700 and was four times that number a century later. In time the English gained practically a monopoly of this slave traffic.

Extent of the Dutch carrying trade in the seventeenth century.

76. The Dutch Carrying Trade and English Laws. — During the seventeenth century the best of these trade opportunities in the Atlantic area were seized by the Dutch. The Dutch traders carried most of the commodities exchanged between Europe and the Spanish, French, and English colonies, as well as those of Holland in America. In addition, the Dutch practically monopolized the *carrying trade* between the countries of northern and western Europe.[1]

By the middle of the seventeenth century the English were determined to break this Dutch monopoly of the

[1] Half of the vessels which went to the Baltic were controlled by Holland; nine tenths of those that entered English ports flew the Dutch flag.

carrying trade for English goods. When Cromwell came into power, in 1651, a navigation act was passed. This was reënacted in 1660. It forbade the carrying of goods to or from England or her colonies except in vessels built in England or the colonies, or in ships of the country with which they were trading. This was the first important law in a series of *acts of trade* which caused the decline of Dutch shipping and commerce, and which had so much influence later in arousing the opposition of the American colonists to England.[1] The Dutch monopoly of the carrying trade, however, was not broken entirely by economic means. In a series of *wars*, begun under Cromwell and continued under Charles II, the English temporarily destroyed the Dutch fisheries in the North Sea and interfered greatly with their trade in northern Europe and in America.[2]

English laws against Dutch carriers in England and America.

Decline of Dutch commerce.

English and French Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

77. Motives and Methods of Early Colonization. — The European countries wished colonies chiefly for the purpose of increasing their exports and adding to their wealth, particularly the supply of the precious metals.[3] In consequence the mother country almost always sought to secure from her colonies *raw materials*, which by the process of manufacture would increase greatly the value of the product. She also sought to make her colonies

Policy of European countries toward colonies.

[1] Although Dutch shipyards continued to build about half the vessels constructed in Europe, the American colonists could build ships better and cheaper than even the famous shipbuilders of Holland. The reason for this is the abundance of excellent ship timber on the shores of New England and the Middle colonies, and the abundance also of naval supplies in the southern colonies.

[2] By the conquest of the Dutch colony of New Netherland in 1664 they also gained control of the fur trade with the Iroquois Indians.

[3] E. E. C., § 727.

markets for her *surplus manufactured products.* In order to carry out this rather short-sighted colonial policy, it was necessary that the mother country should absolutely control all commerce between the colony and the outside world.

Commercial nature of the early colonies.

As profits of colonial enterprise were at first uncertain, the first colonies were established by commercial companies such as the East India Company and the Virginia Company. These commercial companies secured land grants, which gave them control of certain territories and a monopoly of the trade within these territories. Because most of these were organized for trade, they frequently consisted of little more than scattered trading posts, about which a few homes of settlers were grouped.[1] The *English companies* usually had the right to control their own affairs and govern the territory or colony which was established in the new lands.

Religious motives of colonization.

Colonies were established not only for trade but for religious reasons. People who had no religious freedom or toleration in Europe wished to gain for themselves a place in the world where they could worship as they pleased. In no case was it the intention of those colonists to have *religious freedom,* since their whole desire was to have colonies in which *their* church should be the only church and all people should worship as they dictated. Almost without exception these groups of religious refugees were forced to depend upon the cultivation of the soil rather than upon trade for the maintenance of their colony.

In consequence only two types of colonies ever developed into real provinces. (1) One type consisted of

[1] The Dutch settlements along the Hudson and Delaware rivers, and those of the French in the St. Lawrence, Great Lake, and Mississippi basins, were really trading posts, as were practically all of the colonies, or more exactly "factories," in the Hudson Bay region, as well as those in India and the East Indies.

colonies founded by religious refugees; of these the New England colonies were the best example. (2) Other provinces were agricultural settlements developed, as was Virginia, through the opportunities to establish profitable plantations and homes.

Two types of real colonies.

78. Early History of Virginia. — At the close of the sixteenth century, Spain occupied all of the territory from "Florida" to southern Peru, including most of the islands of the West Indies. On the boundary of Florida Sir Walter Ralegh and his associates had sought to establish colonies, but three attempts on the part of the English left no permanent trace on the coast of the Carolinas. In 1606 a new company, the Virginia Company, was organized for the purpose of colonizing the eastern coast of the present United States. One branch of this organization, the London Company, in 1607 made its first settlement at Jamestown, in the present state of Virginia.

Attempts of the English to colonize.

About ten years after Jamestown was founded, two things occurred which had a great influence upon the history of England and America. In 1619 a representative assembly of twenty-two burgesses was allowed to meet with the governor and his counsellors in the *first American legislature*. This assembly was afterward made permanent because King Charles thought it would be a convenient means of raising revenue in the new land.

Importance of the first Virginia legislature.

More influential in the history of Virginia, if not more important in American development, was the beginning of *tobacco* cultivation. The valleys of Virginia are wide and filled with a rich soil; the rivers are broad and navigable for seagoing vessels for some distance. Consequently *plantations* were established along the shores of Chesapeake Bay and the banks of the adjacent rivers by Englishmen who provided a large amount of *capital* and needed an abundant supply of *labor*. These tobacco

Tobacco in Virginia: commercial, political, and social results.

plantations made Virginia wealthy and prosperous.[1] At the beginning labor was furnished by indented servants and later by negro slaves. Naturally social distinctions were prominent. The size of the plantations caused Virginia to adopt the *county system* of government which was in use in England (§ 5).

The Great Migration to New England (1630–1640).

79. The New England Colonies. — The struggle between Charles I and the Puritans, which culminated first in the Petition of Right, then in the struggle with Laud over the form of church service, and finally in the contest with Charles over the levying of taxes in the form of ship-money (§ 29), led to the establishment of several Puritan colonies in New England. In the year after the Petition of Right was adopted, a group of English Puritans, believing that the king and Laud would not give them churches such as they wanted in England, obtained a charter to lands in New England north of the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. They established the colony of Massachusetts Bay, twenty thousand Puritans joining in a *great migration* to the New World [2] when arbitrary church rule was followed by arbitrary taxation. These New England Puritans did not come to America for religious liberty, but in order to have a Puritan state and a Puritan church of their own.

New political institutions of the New England Puritans.

They were much interested in managing their own affairs. They met in their *town meetings* and looked after all their religious and secular business. They elected representatives to an assembly which met with the

[1] Tobacco had been unknown in Europe before it was imported from North America. As the demand grew rapidly, Virginia and many colonies in the West Indies devoted especial attention to this crop, which gave the planter large profits. Its commercial importance is shown by the fact that Virginia was the only one of the "thirteen colonies" which succeeded in exporting as much as it imported, all of the others being obliged to go into debt to the English merchants for the goods which they needed.

[2] See Ashley, *American History*, §§ 44–53.

governor and council of the colony in a *legislature of two houses*. Some of the more liberal Puritans migrated to the Connecticut valley, where they drew up a *written constitution* of their own (1639). As soon as Charles was forced to call Parliament (1640), the great migration closed, and many New England Puritans returned to the mother country.

American colonies of European countries in 1650.

80. Conquest and Expansion. — Before the time of the Commonwealth in England (§ 32), there were Eng-

New Amsterdam

lish colonists living in two definite groups of colonies on the Atlantic coast. In the South, separated from the Spanish town of St. Augustine in Florida by a wilderness several hundred miles wide, were the Virginia and Maryland settlements. Further north, separated from these southern colonies by the Swedes on the Delaware and the

Dutch in New Netherland, was a group of New England settlements extending from Long Island Sound into the woods of Maine. After another interval of wilderness, claimed by both English and French, were found the French colonies of the north Atlantic slope.

Union and expansion of the English colonies.

In 1664 England conquered the Dutch colony of *New Netherland*, which had already absorbed the Swedish colony of New Sweden. This conquest united the English colonies of the north and south. About the same time there was established south of Virginia a new colony of *Carolina* which sought to keep the Spanish from extending their dominions northward. These Carolina settlements prospered because they were adapted to the growing of rice, sea-island cotton, and indigo. As they demanded a large and crude supply of slave labor, they gave a new impetus to that nefarious traffic, the slave trade.

English colonies of homes.

81. England and the Colonies. — The English colonies differed from those of other countries in many respects. Most important was the fact that the English colonists were real settlers or homemakers who had not been exported to America for the purpose of promoting English trade, but who had on their own initiative gone to the New World to find homes for themselves. In consequence the English colonies were inhabited by more thrifty, earnest people than were any other colonies.

Self-government in English colonies.

The English colonists were therefore able to conduct their own affairs in a way radically different from that in use in other colonies. They were also treated far better by their home government. Even in the West Indies the colonies, temporarily, were allowed representative assemblies. In several of the New England colonies the people elected the governor's assistants and in two

colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the governors in addition.[1]

Control of colonial affairs by the mother country.

The English government supervised the affairs of the colonies through a commission known as the *Board of Trade*. This board corresponded with the governors, gave them instructions, and decided which laws passed by the colonial legislatures and governors should be retained and which vetoed. They also supervised the *laws of trade*,[2] which were not enforced, partly because the enforcement was left to colonial officers and inspectors.

Expansion in St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

82. The French in Canada. — When Henry IV of France put an end to the disastrous religious and civil strife in that country, commerce revived, industry prospered, and colonization began. Under *Champlain*, "father of New France," Canada was founded; later the French gained control of the whole St. Lawrence

[1] Where the governors were appointed by the crown, there was also a larger degree of self-government than there appeared to be, because these royal governors as a rule were not capable, efficient men, and the colonists ordinarily insisted that the assemblies rather than the governors should rule the colonies. The colonies were usually able to secure the upper-hand because by law the governor's salaries were paid by the assemblies. If the governors did not do as the assemblies wished, their salaries were withheld.

[2] When the first navigation law of 1651 was reënacted by the restoration parliament in 1660 (§ 76), it included a list of commodities known as *enumerated articles* which could be shipped from American colonies only to England. Among these enumerated articles were tobacco and sugar. This navigation law of 1660 was followed by later laws which compelled American merchants to buy their commodities in the Old World from England, thus giving English merchants a middleman's profit and control of the trade. In many cases these navigation acts gave the Americans advantages. For example, colonial ships were counted as English ships, Virginia and the Bermudas had a monopoly of the English tobacco market, and bounties were paid for naval stores and pig iron shipped to England. The English commercial policy was therefore an advantage to the Americans, since they made use of all the help offered by the English laws and avoided all other provisions very cheerfully and successfully, there being no moral sentiment against smuggling in either England or the colonies.

and Great Lake basin. About 1700 the French established the colony of Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi river and gained temporary control of that great river basin.[1]

Nature of French rule and colonies.

The French did not deal wisely with their colonies. Either their government used the paternal system of Colbert (§ 56) and did too much, or it neglected them or sacrificed their interests by subordinating them to its political ambitions in Europe. There was no self-government in French colonies; the people were ruled arbitrarily by a governor, the first executive official, an intendant who spied upon the governor, and a council appointed by the king. This council made the laws and established the courts, being itself the last court of appeal. This method of governing the French colonies was an advantage in carrying on war and in occupying territory, but it did not develop strong, self-reliant colonies. The government established a paternalism which sought to aid the colonies, but which succeeded only in weakening them. Commercial monopolies interfered with individual enterprises, immigration was restricted by the ardor of the Jesuit priests, who kept out the Protestant settlers, while feudal estates and privileges placed barriers in the way of social progress. For the protection of the fine territorial domain that she had secured, France

[1] In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec and in later years penetrated the interior, laying the foundations for the colony of New France. Although seized by the English in 1629, New France was returned to the French through the influence of Richelieu, but it did not prosper until the time of Colbert (§ 56), who took a great interest in French exploration. The work of extending French influence in America was carried on by four different classes: first, the Jesuit missionaries, who established missions among the Iroquois and Algonquin Indians of the Great Lake basin; secondly, the fur traders, who penetrated the interior in order to secure greater profits (§ 74); thirdly, the explorers, such as Joliet (zho-li-a′) and La Salle, who visited the Mississippi basin and desired to extend the political as well as the religious and commercial interests; and fourthly, a series of able governors.

at the middle of the eighteenth century could muster only eighty thousand inhabitants, while the rival British possessions boasted nearly a million and a quarter.

Commercial Wars between England and France

Eighteenth century commercial wars.

83. Summary of Wars from 1689 to 1815. — Having examined the commercial rivalry between nations for the control of the Atlantic before 1700 and having noted the development of English and French colonies on the continent of America during the seventeenth century, we are now ready to make a more careful study of the eighteenth century commercial wars between England and France, which resulted in a complete victory for the English people and the extinction of France as a colonizing power. The name "*Second Hundred Years' War*" has sometimes been applied to this series of conflicts.

The wars began when James II, protégé of Louis XIV of France, was driven from the throne of England during the Revolution of 1688. Although due to dynastic rivalry between the houses of Bour'bon, which ruled France and Spain during most of this period, and the reigning monarchs in England, this conflict of a century and a quarter was primarily for commercial supremacy.

First conflicts (1689–1748).

The first war, known as *King William's War*, from William of Orange who succeeded James II, ended without important result in the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Five years later commercial rivalry, coupled with the ambition of Louis XIV to place his younger grandson on the throne of Spain (§ 59), led to the *War of the Spanish Succession*, which closed in 1713 with the *Treaty of Utrecht*. For a quarter of a century Europe was at peace. Then about 1740 England became embroiled with Spain over commerce in the West Indies, and Frederick the Great tried to wrest from Maria Theresa the province of Silesia (§ 68). *The War of the Austrian Succession* involved

most of Europe and closed with the Peace of Aix-la-Chap-elle′ (1748), which was really nothing but a truce, for war continued in India and broke out again in America before hostilities were resumed in Europe.

Intermediate conflicts (1754–1783).

In 1756 occurred the *Seven Years' War*, the greatest and most decisive of these conflicts. It was a struggle between France and England for colonial supremacy in America and in India, resulting in the expulsion of the French from both areas. It was also a great European conflict involving the most important powers. It ended in 1763 at the Peace of Paris. Twelve years later the American colonies revolted against English rule, and were joined soon after by the French, who sought to regain some of the possessions which they had lost during the Seven Years' War. Before the *Revolutionary War* was over, Spain and Holland were also at war with England. This war not only resulted in American independence, but caused many other losses for the English. It closed with the Treaty of 1783.

Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815).

During the French Revolution, the French not only executed their king, but they announced themselves as the champions of other peoples against their kings (§ 135). This precipitated in 1793 a war of Europe upon France which lasted with slight interruptions until the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo (§ 158). During these *general European Wars* western Europe was made over socially. England extended her trade to the uttermost limits of the world, and the war closed with considerable loss for France and the continued expansion of the British empire.

Territories and commercial gains for the English at Utrecht (1713).

84. Trade Advantages Gained by England Through the First Wars. — The *Treaty of Utrecht* (1713) brings out clearly the gains made by the English in the New World. In North America the French transferred to the English absolute control of the territory draining into

Hudson Bay, which had been occupied in part by the Hudson's Bay Company but had been disputed with French traders and "coureurs du bois" (bwa). The English also gained absolute title to the island of Newfoundland, which dominated the fisheries of the adjacent fishing banks. France, however, retained some fishing rights which were settled by international treaty. Acadia was the third French land surrendered to the English in 1713. With Newfoundland it controlled the entrance to the St. Lawrence Basin.

Commercial opportunities of England in the Spanish West Indies.

In the West Indies England secured numerous advantages, including the sole right for thirty years to import negro slaves into the Spanish West Indies. The English also gained the right to send a ship yearly to trade with the Spanish colonies. The English craftily took advantage of this clause of the treaty and it is said anchored this ship outside of a Spanish port, taking on new cargoes as rapidly as possible from other English vessels, and transferring each immediately to eager Spanish merchants. The English also carried on with the Spanish islands an extensive illegal trade, both from Europe and from the English colonies on the mainland of America. In other words, the English instead of the Dutch became partners with the Spanish; they had a practical monopoly of the lucrative West Indian trade, since the Spanish had practically no merchant marine of their own.

The French in Louisiana and their chain of western forts.

85. The Struggle for the Mississippi and Canada.— Before the close of the seventeenth century England, France, and Spain became interested in the colonization of the Gulf coast and the lower Mississippi basin. Spain settled at Pensacola, 1696, the French three years later occupied Mobile, and the English made land grants and prepared to occupy this territory. After the Treaty of Utrecht, interest in colonization revived. The French settled at Natchez and at New Orleans on the Mississippi

river, the most important towns in their colony of *Louisiana*. They connected these settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi with the towns of Canada by a series of forts or settlements at strategic points, such as St. Louis, Fort St. Joseph near Chicago, Detroit, and Fort Niagara. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, however, that France sought to occupy the valley of the upper Ohio.[1]

King George's War and the capture of Louisburg.

The French fortified Louisburg on Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, in order to checkmate the English in Newfoundland and Acadia. When England and France became the chief opponents in the *War of the Austrian Succession*, the colonies fitted out an expedition for the capture of Louisburg. With the aid of an English fleet this was seized. Great was the indignation throughout New England when, at the close of the war, Louisburg was restored to the French in exchange for the fortress of Ma-dras' in India.

The Seven Years' War and the capture of Quebec.

During the first period of the *Seven Years' War*, the English made little progress in their attempt to reach Canada, being defeated on Lake Champlain and at other points. After William Pitt became prime minister of England (1757), however, a much better army was organized and abler leaders were appointed. The English then not only drove the French out of the upper Ohio valley, but occupied Niagara, which controlled two of the Great Lakes, defeated the French on Lake Champlain, and in 1758 under General Wolfe recaptured Louisburg. The next year Wolfe attacked Quebec, which he captured after a long siege. He scaled the Heights

[1] A series of forts was erected from Lake Erie [to] Pittsburg. The Virginians objected because they claimed this territory under an old charter, and war broke out when George Washington tried to uphold the claim of his colony. The French were left in possession of the disputed land in 1755, as General Braddock's force was defeated near Pittsburg a year before the great Seven Years' War broke out in Europe.

of Abraham that commanded the city and defeated the forces of Montcalm, the great French commander. The fall of Quebec led easily to the occupation of Montreal and Detroit, in short, to military occupation of Canada.

PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

Europeans in India before 1700.

86. The Struggle for India. — Since Vasco da Gama had reached India in 1498, Europeans had sought for a foothold on the shores of that peninsula. Long before 1700 the influence of the *Portuguese* had waned. The *Dutch* were next influential, especially at one or two points along the coast and on the island of Ceylon. The *French* had gained a foothold on the southeastern coast near Madras and in the north near the mouth of the Ganges. The *British* had trading posts not only at these two points but at Bombay on the northwestern coast.

Successful Asiatic rulers of India.

At this time India was divided into thousands of little principalities whose rajahs usually recognized the sovereignty of some overlord. The power of the *great Moguls* had been declining since the days of their greatest emperor, Ak'bar.[1] A new power, that of the *Mahrat'ta Confederacy*, was becoming influential through-

[1] E. E. C., § 573, *n.* 1.

out the middle of the peninsula but never gained as much influence as the Moguls exercised in the time of Akbar.

Leaders and methods of French and English.

French and English leaders did not try to play politics in Indian affairs until about the time of the War of the Spanish Succession. Later, a capable French general, *Duplaix* (Du-play′), followed the method of Caesar in Gaul of playing off the local leaders against each other. Duplaix also organized companies of native troops known later as sepoys. With the aid of Admiral *La Bour-don-nais′*, who realized that France must keep control of the sea in order to gain dominion in the East, Duplaix might have gained control of India, if he had been properly supported by the French government at home. Instead, both the Admiral and Duplaix were recalled before they had accomplished much, and the English, ably led by Robert *Clive*, adopted Duplaix's methods in employing native troops and playing politics among the native princes.

English victories in India.

The result was that at the battle of *Wan′de-wash* (1760) the English gained a complete ascendancy in the *Car-nat′ic*, a strip of coast near Madras, and by the decisive victory of *Plas-sey′* (1757) they gained an ascendancy in Bengal at the mouth of the Ganges. By following up the latter they were able to organize *Bengal* within a few years into what might be called the first English *province* in India. All these changes were wrought not by the English government and people, but by the *East India Company*, which continued to rule the British possessions until after the sepoy revolt in 1857 (p. 000).

English victories after 1759.

87. Peace of Paris, 1763. — For nearly three years after war ceased in America and India, France and England continued the great conflict elsewhere. During this interval Spain was allied with France, but England continued to gain victories. In the West Indies she

ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
Arctic Circle
Davis Strait
Hudson Bay
Hudson's Bay Co.
Bering Strait
UNITED KINGDOM
NEWFOUNDLAND
ST. PIERRE I.
MIQUELON I.
QUEBEC
NOVA SCOTIA (ACADIA)
NEW ENGLAND
New York
VIRGINIA
CAROLINA
GEORGIA
BERMUDAS
FLORIDA
BAHAMAS
AZORES
MADEIRA
PORTUGAL
Mazagan
CANARY IS.
NEW SPAIN
LOUISIANA
TEXAS
Tropic of Cancer
CUBA
HISPANIOLA
PORTO RICO
VIRGIN IS.
JAMAICA
SANDWICH IS.
CAPE VERDE IS.
St. Louis
Gorée
Ft. James
Elmina
GUINEA
Cape Coast Castle
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
ST. VINCENT
CURAÇAO
CARACAS
NEW GRANADA
GUIANA
Cayenne
Equator
PERU
BRAZIL
Tropic of Capricorn
CHILE
Rio de Janeiro
Montevideo
FALKLAND IS.
Magellan Strait
Longitude West 60° from Greenwich
Spani
Dutch
Portu

ORLD IN 1763

ATOR'S PROJECTION

ATION OF COLORS

- *English*
- *French*
- *Ottoman Empire*

WILLIAMS ENG. CO., N. Y.

seized several French islands including Gua-de-loupe′ and Mar-tin-ique′. The Spanish town of Havana in Cuba and the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida fell into her hands. The Philippines were occupied by England after peace negotiations were begun. By 1762 she was in a position to dictate to all her enemies terms of peace which were exceedingly favorable to the conqueror. Especially was this true in regard to territories, because the war had proved to be a colonial death struggle from which France emerged with scarcely a trace of the magnificent territories which she had claimed at the beginning.

English territorial gains and French losses.

In *India* France was left in possession of practically all trading posts which she had at the beginning of the war, but they were trading posts which could never grow into colonies. The Philippines were restored to Spain, as was the town of Havana, but the *Floridas* were retained by England. Since France had granted to Spain all of *Louisiana* including the Isle of Orleans, France lost to England all her possessions on the mainland of North America. These included *Canada*, and *the eastern Mississippi basin* from the Mississippi river to the Alleghany Mountains.[1] In this way was France expelled from the North American continent.

England and America (1763–1789)

88. Reorganization of the British Empire. — The close of the Seven Years' War brought to England not only huge territories in America and important posses-

[1] The Mississippi being the dividing line between English and Spanish colonies and the navigation of that river being open to the inhabitants of both countries, only two islets south of Newfoundland were kept as fishing stations, and these were never to be fortified. In the West Indies France regained the important sugar island of Guadeloupe in addition to Martinique and St. Lucia, but England retained several less important French islands.

Needs in organizing new colonies and reorganizing old.

sions in India, but compelled Great Britain to reorganize her empire. Since many of the new colonies were occupied chiefly by people who were not English and in some cases were hostile to English rule, it was necessary *to establish military government* rather than self-government in these new possessions. It seemed necessary further to bring under a stricter control the older American colonies, which had shown themselves exceedingly independent. Among other changes was *the enforcement of the old laws of trade* (§ 81) which had either been made for the colonies or affected the colonies. Since the Seven Years' War had brought to England a heavier burden of taxes than had existed before the war began, it seemed fair to British imperial statesmen that the colonies should now pay a larger share of the expenses of *colonial* administration.

Inevitable opposition of the American colonists.

However necessary and desirable these changes might be from the imperial point of view, they seemed to the colonists unnecessary; to a modern observer many of them appear unwise. For example, the presence of troops in the new colonies aroused the fears of the older American settlers. To be asked to pay part of the expenses of these troops added insult to injury. Furthermore the chief means by which the colonies had been kept dependent upon the mother country — that is, the presence of the French in Canada — had been removed by the war. Consequently the colonies objected to the reorganization of the British empire, which necessarily followed the enforcement of navigation laws. This reorganization, including as it did the levying of taxes and the enactment of new means of control, aroused serious opposition in the older colonies. Discerning statesmen, especially among the French, did not hesitate to predict that the acquisition of Canada by Great Britain would mean the loss of her older colonies.

89. England's New Colonial Policy. — George III, who came to the throne in 1760, was the first English-born king of the Han-o-ver'i-an line. He was upright, sincere, and earnest, but without tact, narrow, and exceedingly obstinate. As he was determined really to be king, it was necessary to overthrow the Whig aristocracy which had established the cabinet system of government (§ 43). Unfortunately the new laws which were made for the government of the American colonies became partisan issues in the struggle between the king and Parliament which lasted from 1763 to 1770.

How American policies were mixed up with British political questions.

The new colonial policy of England is represented by four fairly well defined stages. (1) In order to secure revenue, the English government first decided to enforce the old navigation laws. To do this it was necessary to try smugglers without juries. This, in turn, aroused opposition because the smugglers preferred to be acquitted by their friends, and the colonists made a protest on the ground that they were entitled to a jury trial. In order to increase revenues, Parliament passed *the Sugar Act*, which practically reduced the prohibitive duties of the Molasses Act to one half of the old rates. If these new regulations had been enforced, the business of New England and New York with the West Indies would have been ruined.

Enforcement of revenue laws of trade (1763).

(2) The English government further decided to levy upon the colonists *a stamp tax* similar to that in use in England. The colonies protested that their legislatures had the sole right of levying taxes, and there was considerable rioting and disorder when the stamped paper was sent to America. Stamp collectors were forced to resign, their homes in a few cases being burned. A Congress of delegates from each colony protested against the Stamp Act as unconstitutional since it was taxation without representation. These protests, accompanied

The Stamp Act (1765).

by the refusal of the American merchants to buy goods in England or pay the bills which they owed in Europe, caused the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766.

British attempt to *control* colonial governments (1767).

(3) In order to show its authority and to pay the royal governors and judges, thus removing them from the domination of the colonial assemblies,[1] the English Parliament now passed *the Townshend Acts* (1767). These provided for duties on goods imported into the colonies. One of these commodities was tea. When the American merchants boycotted the English merchants because of the Townshend Acts, all duties were repealed except that on tea.

Acts of Repression (1774).

The tea tax led to further difficulties, culminating in 1773 in the Boston Tea Party. The indignation of the English officials was so great at this outrage that several *Repressive Acts* were passed (1774). One of these closed the port of Boston to foreign trade and another suspended the Massachusetts charter. The people of that colony immediately formed a provisional government of their own and organized a colonial militia, whose members were known as minute men.

Independence Hall, Philadelphia

Separation from Great Britain (1776).

90. Union and Independence in America. — In 1774 the colonies held the *First Continental Congress* and organized the most complete union they had up to that time. The following year, after

[1] § 81.

hostilities had begun at Lexington and Concord, they met in the *Second Continental Congress*, which became a real government for the thirteen colonies. This Congress not only organized the army and conducted the war, but on July 4, 1776, *it declared the United States independent* of Great Britain, and later it organized a regular union of the states, known as the *Confederation*.

Three periods of fighting during the Revolutionary War.

(1) In the first year of the war the British troops were forced to leave *New England*. (2) In the second period of the war the English sought to occupy the *middle colonies*, in which there were numerous loyalists. They seized New York, marched across to the American "capital" at Philadelphia and sought to separate the New England states from those further South.

Military events of the War.

Burgoyne failed in his invasion by the way of Lake Champlain when he was forced to surrender at Saratoga in 1777. The French, anxious to humiliate England, formed an alliance openly with the United States in 1778. This divided the English forces, many of which were retained in Europe, and it gave the Americans the aid of a navy. (3) In 1781 Cornwallis, who had marched through the *southern colonies*, was forced to surrender at *Yorktown* to a French fleet and a combined American and French land force under Washington. This closed the Revolutionary War.[1]

English partisan quarrels that affected the treaty.

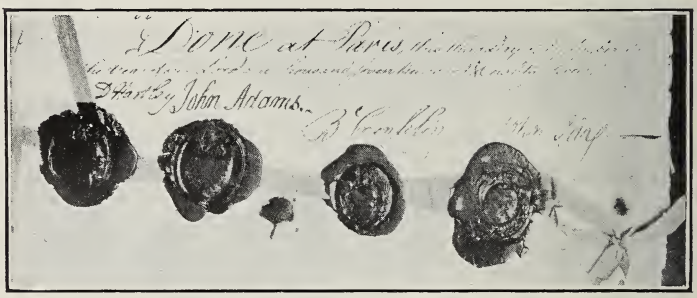
91. Treaty of Paris, 1783. — The international situation in 1783 was exceedingly interesting. The failure of England to subdue her revolting American colonies meant that George III had failed to establish his personal government (§ 000). He was forced, therefore, to call the Whigs back into power. These Whigs were divided

[1] One memorable event of this war was the heroic resistance offered by a small British force at Gibraltar through a terrible three-year siege. Gibraltar had been acquired by Great Britain in 1713. It is now considered impregnable. The war was distinguished by one or two great naval victories for Great Britain.

into two hostile factions, the old Whigs and the new Whigs. By playing off these factions against each other, the American commissioners were able to secure concessions which otherwise they would have been unable to obtain.

International complications affecting the treaty.

These American successes were due not simply to the quarrels in the English government, but to the fact that England had been at war with four countries, the United States, France, Spain, and Holland. England's sole hope of success lay in persuading either France or the United States to make a separate treaty, as she would



Signatures, Treaty of Paris, 1783

then be in better position to dictate to the others. For this separate treaty the English government labored unceasingly. They practically made one with Franklin and Jay, although it was not binding until a treaty had been made between Great Britain and France.

Provisions of the treaties of peace.

The Treaty of Paris accepted the independence of the United States, gave us the Great Lakes as a boundary in the north, and the Mississippi on the west; and it secured for us the right to navigate that river and to fish off Newfoundland. Florida was transferred to Spain again, and in general territories or islands that had been captured by either side were returned to their former owners. It will be noticed that the United States was

the only country that gained important advantages from the negotiations or treaties.

Defects of the Confederation.

92. The United States Constitution. — The United States consisted of thirteen states united in a *Confederation*, organized in 1781, which was *based upon state sovereignty*. The government of this Confederation consisted of a *Congress* in which each state had one vote. Owing to the fear among the states of any central authority, the union was very imperfect, and the Congress had comparatively little real authority. In fact the Confederation did not even have sufficient power to raise revenue to pay interest on its war debt. It had no power to regulate the commerce between states, which was a constant source of friction between them. It could not enforce the few laws which it attempted to make. Finally, since the Articles of Confederation could be amended only by the unanimous vote of the states, it was impossible to remedy any of these defects.

Adoption of our present national Constitution (1787–1789).

After six years of growing confusion and dissatisfaction, a constitutional convention met at Philadelphia and drew up a new *Constitution*. The union was no longer based upon the sovereignty of the separate states. The government consisted of a *Congress of two houses*, a Senate and a House of Representatives. There was to be a *President* elected for four years, and *national courts* whose judges were appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. To this Congress were given rather definite powers for the control of military affairs, and other duties which the government of a nation needs for the protection of the common interests of its people.

Contributions of America to the world before 1800.

Before 1800 the American people had made several important contributions in the history of the world. First, they had practiced religious toleration and had finally abandoned state churches altogether, that is, they

had established *religious liberty*. Secondly, they had proved that a people, not simply a small community but in *a large nation, could govern itself*. Thirdly, they had changed their colonial charters into regular *written constitutions* which they made the fundamental law not simply of the separate states, but of the whole nation. Fourthly, they had united a group of separate autonomous states into a single union. This was neither a confederacy, that is, a league of states, nor a highly consolidated state, such as France seemed to be, but was a single united *Federal State*.

Conditions and trade before 1700.

93. Summary. — After the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, international trade expanded rapidly. At first, Spain and Portugal had the best trade, one with the West, the other with the East. Then Holland gained chief control of the eastern trade, and of the carrying trade in northern Europe and in America. Dutch maritime development was due in part to experience gained in the valuable North Sea fisheries. In America four typical occupations furnished the basis of foreign trade, namely, the Newfoundland fisheries, the fur trade, sugar, and tobacco.

English and French colonies in America.

Having broken the Dutch monopoly of the carrying trade and Atlantic commerce by acts of trade and by wars, England sought by many means to outstrip her next rival, France. In America, Virginia, founded in 1607, owed her first success to tobacco, which found a ready market in England. The religious controversy between high churchmen (§ 29) and the Puritans drove many thousand Puritans to New England (1629–1640). After the Restoration (§ 34) Dutch New Netherland was conquered and the Carolinas were established. England left these colonies alone, for she did not enforce the acts of trade, which would have been harsh and unjust. In Acadia, Canada, and Louisiana the French had trading

centers and colonies which they supervised, not wisely but too well.

Commercial wars of England and France (1689–1763).

Colonization alone would never have given England a victory over France. War was also a means of commercial development. From 1789 to 1815 the two countries were only intermittently at peace, and England was almost uniformly successful except in the Revolutionary War. Even in that contest the English navy, an important cause of commercial supremacy, defeated the French fleet except in the skirmish before Yorktown (1781) (§ 90). In 1713 (Utrecht) England gained Acadia, all Newfoundland, and the area draining into Hudson Bay, beside trade advantages in the Spanish West Indies. In 1763 (Paris) she acquired all France's possessions in America except Louisiana, after several successful campaigns in the Seven Years' War. That conflict also witnessed the defeat of the French and their native allies in India.

Great Britain and the United States (1763–1789).

After 1763 it was necessary for Great Britain to reorganize her now greatly enlarged empire and bring her undisciplined American colonies under her control. By a series of acts, the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), the Townshend Acts (1767), and the Repressive Acts (1774), she tried to tighten her grip on the colonies, without success. In 1775 they revolted, in 1776 declared themselves independent, in 1777 at Saratoga captured one army, and in 1781 at Yorktown captured another. At Paris, in 1783, the United States was recognized as independent and acquired all territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Great Lakes to the Floridas. This new nation in 1781 formed a Confederation, which was defective in many respects because it was based on state sovereignty, but in 1787 it organized a better union, made a new Constitution, and created a Federal State.

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 49–73, 242–260, 299–341.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 34–49, 68–71, 80–121.

Seeley, *The Expansion of England.*

Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire.*

Day, *History of Commerce*, Chaps. XV, XVIII–XXI, XXIV.

Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, 179–291.

Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History.*

Andrews, C. M., in *American Historical Magazine*, 20 (1915), 539–556, 761–780.

Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 1–23, 483–486, 541–551, III, 290–500, IV, 1–70, 130–220, 240–289.

Topics

Tobacco in Virginia: Coman, *Industrial History of the United States* (rev. ed.), 56–58; Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 208–226; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, I, 174–177; Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 432–457, II, 337–340; Commons and Andrews (eds.), *Documentary History of American Economic Society*, I, 186–188, 208–214, 245–251, 326–328.

Relations between England and the Colonies before 1763: Ashley, *American History*, 128–135; Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 48, 51, 53, 55, 65, 66; Lecky's *American Revolution*, 38–53; Russell, *Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council.*

British and French in India: Robinson and Beard, II, 87–100; Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*, 71–85, 176–181, 196–205; *Cambridge Modern History.*

Peace of Paris (1783): Ashley, *American History*, 183–185; Fiske, *The Critical Period*, 1–36; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, 18–34; Lecky, *American Revolution*, 464–485.

Studies

1. Dutch Commerce. Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, 215–225.

2. French sugar trade. Andrews, C. M., in *American Historical Magazine*, 20 (1915), 549–551.

3. The slave trade. Spears, *Slave Trade in America.*

4. Reasons for Colonization. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 331–341.

5. Work of Champlain. Parkman, *Struggle for a Continent*, 88–106, 120–124.

6. French policies in Canada. Parkman, *Struggle for a Continent*, 169–173, 314–318.

7. The Treaty of Utrecht. Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 42–49.

8. The West India trade. Andrews, C. M., in *American Historical Magazine*, 20 (1915), 761–767.

9. The French in the West. Parkman, *Struggle for a Continent*, 156–164 (256–264), 297–300.

10. Capture of Quebec. Fiske, *New France and New England*, 349–359.

11. The Stamp Act. Channing, *Student's History of the United States* (rev. ed.).

12. The Second Continental Congress. Hart (ed.), *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, No. 185.

13. The French Alliance. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, 217–226.

14. American *vs.* French interest on treaty negotiations. Fiske, *Critical Period*, 17–25.

Questions

1. Name the different countries which contended for commercial supremacy in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries respectively. Show the difference between the Portuguese and Spanish results. Explain how the North Sea and Newfoundland fisheries developed a merchant marine as well as furnished valuable articles for trade.

2. Show the importance of fish, furs, sugar, and tobacco respectively in the development of trade before 1776 between Europe and America. Explain the nature of the Dutch trade before 1700 and show how England gained control of most of it.

3. Name several motives affecting colonization and show how each influenced particular groups of colonies. Show how the struggle between Charles I and Parliament influenced the settlement of New England. Notice how England gained control of the territory between her northern and southern colonies and that south of Virginia.

4. What were England's methods of governing and con-

trolling the trade of her American colonies? How did the French treat their colonies in the Great Lake and Mississippi basins?

5. Name the different conflicts in the "Second Hundred Years' War" between England and France; give causes, important event or events, and results of each.

6. What was the nature of the trade gained by England through the Treaty of Utrecht with the Spanish West Indies?

7. Show how the French occupied the Mississippi basin, how the English gained control of Quebec and Canada, and how England gained advantages over France in India. Give provisions and show importance of the Peace of Paris, 1763.

8. Compare methods used by England before 1763 (question 4) with those adopted by Great Britain after that date. Discuss each of the four steps in the development of the new colonial policy after 1763.

9. Show that independence from Great Britain and union of the colonies necessarily took place at the same time. Describe the military events of each of the three periods of the war. Show how events in Europe and particularly in England gave us a favorable peace treaty in 1783.

10. Explain the nature of American government under the Confederation, showing its main defect and naming several specific defects. Describe the government under the present Constitution. Name several important contributions of the United States to the world and explain each as fully as possible.

CHAPTER V

REFORM

Beginnings of Modern Treatment of Crime

94. Crime in England. — The rights of the common people under the law depended (1) upon the liberty or bondage of the individual, and (2) upon the laws dealing with crime. We have already discussed personal freedom under the subjects of serfdom and villeinage (§§ 7, 8). In some ages it has been considered a crime for a peasant or common man to protect himself or his family; in others the common man has had comparatively few rights which the law respected and the government protected. When we observe that in England in the middle of the eighteenth century no fewer than one hundred and sixty crimes were punishable by death, we should imagine that the government was little interested in the welfare of the common people.

Numerous offenses punishable by death.

The reason for so many severe laws undoubtedly was the great amount of lawlessness in England before the nineteenth century. In the London of Queen Anne and the first Georges the streets were little safer than they were in the Middle Ages.[1] Even when robbers and highwaymen, not to say murderers, did not disturb the chance traveler, the "young bloods" returning from a dance or a frolic were ready for mischief such as we do not tolerate even on Hallowe'en or other festive occasions. The streets were patrolled by watchmen, but these men were

City watchmen and their problems.

[1] E. E. C., § 553.

usually feeble old pensioners who did little but walk the streets and call the hours. When not actively engaged in duty, these old watchmen were likely to fall asleep in their boxes. It was a favorite pastime of the "young bloods" to overturn the boxes if the watchmen had fallen asleep inside. Peace-loving burghers were terrorized by gangs of young rowdies, who took picturesque names, such as the Mohawks.

Highway robbers and smuggling.

On the roads outside of the cities, travelers were likely to be held up by highwaymen of the Dick Turpin type. Along the seacoast, fishermen and other inhabitants made a business of smuggling from the seacoast towns of France or the Netherlands. Since the moral sentiment of practically all seacoast communities favored this, the government had great difficulty in breaking up the gangs.

Effect of the new guard and street gas lights.

About 1750 the large English cities replaced the old watch by a new guard of younger, athletic policemen. The new guardsmen made the streets much quieter and safer. The most effective restraint upon crime in the streets, however, was the introduction, at the close of the eighteenth century, of illuminating gas for street lighting. It made the detection of offenders much easier.

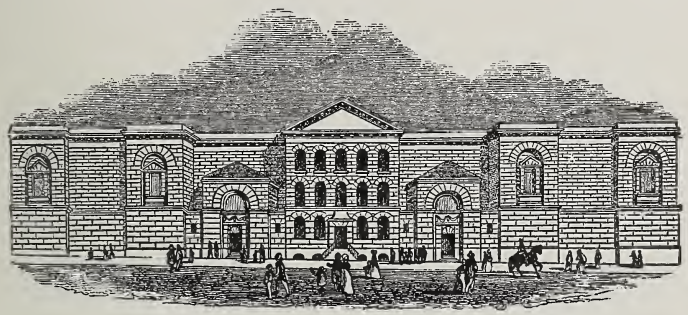
Methods of arresting offenders.

95. Treatment of Criminal Offenders. — The English system of trying offenders was very much more modern than that in use on the Continent. An accused person was arrested openly by a police officer and on a warrant.[1] In France on the contrary an arrest might be by *lettres de cachet* (caa-shay′). These letters were private statements made by a person of influence. They provided that an offender of good social position could be arrested without publicity; they also permitted men secretly to put their enemies in prison.

[1] Notice the opposition of James Otis to the use of *general* search warrants in America. Ashley, *American History*, § 122.

Imprisonment of accused persons and witnesses in England.

While awaiting trial, the person accused of crime was kept in a loathsome dungeon. Unless his crime was punishable by death, even in England he had no attorney to represent him. Before 1679 he could not claim successfully the privilege of *habeas corpus*, although after the Revolution of 1688 this writ was obtained more easily. Frequently it was difficult for a person awaiting trial, or even for a witness who was held in prison, to obtain bail.



Newgate Prison, Eighteenth Century

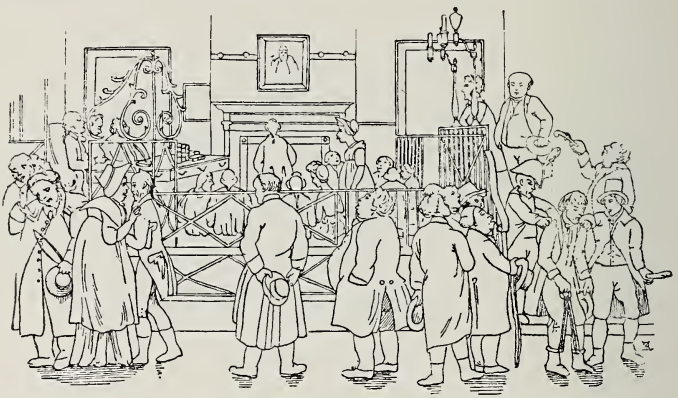
Treatment before a trial of persons accused of crime on the Continent.

In France and in other countries on the Continent there was no provision for quick trial, and *the person who was accused of crime was usually tortured before the trial was held.* He might be subjected to intense heat or have water poured into his stomach and lungs. He might be held up by the thumbs or tortured on the rack. He might even have his bones broken by the jailer and afterward be bound to a cart wheel. There was no bail, and witnesses as well as accused persons were usually kept in prison.

Trials and punishments in England.

96. Trials in England and on the Continent. — When a man was accused of crime in England, there was an open trial before a jury, but the defendant was held to be guilty until his innocence was proved. Fairness requires it to be said that English juries usually refused to con-

vict persons of minor crimes if the penalty was death; thus many laws providing for capital punishment were nullified. Often too the jury declared the prisoner guilty, not of the offense of which he was charged, but of a similar charge for which there was lighter punishment. For the death penalty, transportation to an English colony was sometimes substituted — first to America, later to Aus-



Bow Street Police Court

tralia or Tasmania. Until 1783 the execution of a criminal was the scene of a procession and celebration, a cortège much desired by criminals who sought notoriety.

Secret continental trials.

On the Continent *trials* were secret. Witnesses were examined secretly; occasionally even they were subjected to torture. The trial occurred before a judge, not a jury, and the prosecutors did not give the prisoner a real chance to meet his accusers or to know the evidence presented against him.

Torture in trials: old uses and abolition.

97. The Abolishment of Torture. — Many reformers had preached against the use of torture, but Frederick the Great of Prussia was the first to abolish it in connec-

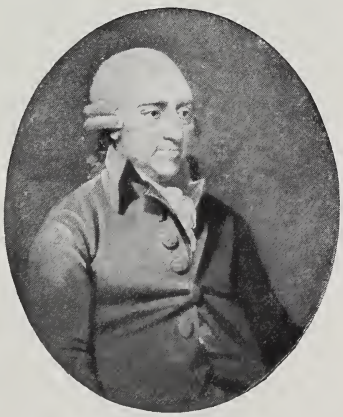
tion with trials. In other countries torture as a means of extracting evidence before a trial was discontinued about the same time. Later it was abandoned altogether, in France and Austria before 1800, in Spain and Italy during the nineteenth century. The abolition of torture was a reform largely influenced by Bec-ca-ri'a.

Writing of Beccaria on penal reform.

Beccaria (1738–1794) was an Italian reformer who argued that the object of imposing penalties for crime was the protection of society rather than the punishment of the offender. He advocated light penalties, maintaining that people are deterred from crime more by the certainty than by the severity of the punishment. He urged that every man accused of crime should be treated as innocent until he had been proved guilty and declared that secret trials were unjust and unsuccessful, therefore all trials should be public.

Objectionable character of the eighteenth century English prison.

98. Howard and Prison Reform. — The prisons of the eighteenth century were used comparatively little for the punishment of convicts; they were filled chiefly with debtors, persons accused of crime, and witnesses. They were dark and frequently were underground. So unsanitary were most prisons that a special form of disease called jail fever was prevalent. Prisoners were herded together without regard to age, sex, or the nature of their offense, and they were dependent for food upon jailers who refused to give it to them unless bribes were paid.



John Howard

Many people had realized the inhumane conditions of

Work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry.

prison life and treatment, but nothing was done until *John Howard*, himself a jailer, demanded reform of the worst abuses. Howard visited not only most of the jails of England but many of those on the Continent. He worked unceasingly for the improvement of the prisons and for a more humane and sensible treatment of the prisoners. Through his efforts Parliament was induced to pass laws which provided for reform penitentiaries,

Elizabeth Fry Reading to Women in Prison

but the first laws remained a dead letter, especially after the death of Howard. In the next century *Elizabeth Fry* spent many years teaching inmates of English prisons and working among them. She did much to improve the condition of the prisons of that country. In America and also on the Continent, after 1830 the prisons were decidedly better than those of the eighteenth century.

Social and Religious Changes

The debtor and prison.

99. Problems of Poverty. — As already noted, a large number of the inmates of prisons were debtors. Such

imprisonment, however, did much to injure debtors and little to help them. Although debtors were kept in prison until their debts were paid, prison life offered no good opportunity for earning money with which to pay off indebtedness. In short, the prison methods of the eighteenth century failed either to discourage crime or to reduce poverty.

Condition of various classes.

As we shall see later (§§ 183–185), there was at this time a great transformation in English agriculture which caused distress and pauperism. When the commons and waste lands were inclosed, most of the *cotters* who had lived on those fields in a tiny hut or cottage surrounded by a garden plot were deprived of their homes and of the opportunity to keep a shack and some chickens or to raise food in a garden. Some became day laborers; some went to the new industrial towns; some became public charges. The lot of many of the old *tenant farmers* or *freemen* was worse at the end of the century than at the beginning, for they were now quite unable to eke out a living. Before the invention of new spinning and weaving machines (§§ 187, 188), they had spun yarn and woven cloth at odd times in their homes. When the new factories were opened, they were deprived of these employments, which had helped to give them a decent standard of living. Although some of them went to factory towns, many were obliged to apply to the poor-relief authorities for help.

Increase in the volume of poor relief.

An attempt was made at this time to modify the English poor laws,[1] in order to help those classes which were in dire need. Since prices were very high, it became the custom [2] to give to all families which did not earn a living wage such an additional sum as was absolutely necessary for their support. Human nature will not withstand much temptation, and the results of this may easily be

[1] E. E. C., § 715.

[2] Speenhamland system, 1795.

imagined. The poor rates increased fivefold from 1750 to 1800 and fivefold again from 1800 to the enactment of the new poor law in 1834 (§ 000).

New public interest and reforms.

100. Practical Philanthropy. — Since people were growing more humane and were discussing and thinking much about the rights of man, a great deal more was attempted through private charity in the last half of the eighteenth century than in earlier ages. In former times most dependents had been huddled together in the almshouses, aged and children, men and women, the blind and the diseased. Now there were established a number of orphan asylums which cared for children who would otherwise have been sent to the almshouses. Charity schools were frequently provided by philanthropists for the education of these and other poor children. A number of hospitals were to be found in the large cities, especially London and Paris. It cannot be said of these institutions that they were well managed or that their methods were modern or successful, but they were certainly better than none.

The fight against smallpox.

101. Improved Sanitation. — Nowadays epidemics are almost unknown, but in the eighteenth century epidemics of children's diseases were the rule, and *severe epidemics* of smallpox, cholera, and the plague were not exceptional. In order to fight the worst curse of all, that of smallpox, use was made of inoculation. This inoculation of the patient with smallpox was practiced with little children because the disease is light with them, but it was also used somewhat with adults. After 1796, when Jenner developed a system of inoculation with cowpox, this dreadful scourge became less common.

Improvements in surgery and medicine.

The control of epidemics was influenced greatly both by improvements in the treatment of disease and in sanitation. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the *practice of surgery* was almost entirely in the hands of

the barbers. The physician looked down upon the surgeon and continued to do so even in later years when the surgeon, no longer a barber-practitioner, was better educated than the physician. There were, of course, some improvements in the practice of medicine.

Improvements in sanitation.

Some stress was placed upon greater cleanliness of person and the home. That sanitation was not improved as much as it should have been is shown by the very high death rate of English towns until 1850. In some cases the annual death rate went above fifty per thousand, although that of the average American city to-day is below fifteen per thousand. Even in London the death rate was higher than the birth rate. Growth of towns depended entirely on migration from country to city.

Nature of the Society of Jesus.

102. Suppression of the Jesuits. — An important change of the later eighteenth century affected the religious body known as Jesuits. This order, starting at the time of the Reformation, was well disciplined, thorough, and successful for many years. As time passed the Jesuits grew wealthier and more powerful. They wielded much influence in the church, and therefore did not always enjoy the full confidence of the secular clergy. Not only did they have numerous and excellent schools, but they exercised much political power. Again and again it happened that a Jesuit pupil became king and that a Jesuit priest was thought to be the "power behind the throne."

Action taken against the Jesuits.

In many cases the Jesuits had earned the dislike of other church officials, of nobles and kings, and of merchant burghers in the growing cities. Naturally they aroused the envy of those classes that desired their power or the business which they were said to have in Europe and in America. Their enemies were exceedingly active and determined to suppress the order. The Society of

Jesus was abolished in Portugal in 1759, and within a few years its members were expelled from France, Spain, and other countries of Europe. In 1773 the Pope was persuaded to suppress the order, but in October, 1814, it was reëstablished.

Reform Philosophers

Philosophers and Economists.

103. Names and Work of the Philosophers. — The reform movement of the late eighteenth century was influenced greatly by a number of philosophers, among whom the Frenchmen Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau were most important. It was also influenced by the work of the new economists, especially Quesnay and Adam Smith.

Influence exercised by these writers.

When people read the writings of these men they understood better why the absolute monarchy was objectionable and why the existing privileges of nobles and clergy were unfair. Over the benevolent despots (§§ 107–109) they exercised considerable influence, because several of the enlightened rulers of Europe tried to put into practice some of the reforms advocated by the philosophers. We must not imagine that they caused or greatly influenced the French Revolution. As expressed by an able American historian, "The great French writers of the eighteenth century exercised by their works a smaller influence on the outbreak and actual course of the French Revolution than has been generally supposed. The causes of the movement were chiefly economical and political, not philosophical." [1]

104. Montesquieu and Voltaire. — The earliest of these French philosophers was *Montesquieu* (Mon-tes-qui-a′). In 1748 he published his most famous book, the "Spirit of Laws." In this volume he called attention to the

[1] Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 9.

many excellences of the British constitution and government. He particularly urged the value of separating the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government, asserting that the excellence of the British system was due in large part to this separation of powers. His doctrines were accepted as true, and practiced not only by the American statesmen who established our own government, but by the French writers and politicians connected with the French Revolution.

Doctrine of separation of departments of government.

The ablest and most influential of the reform philosophers was *Voltaire*. As a young man Voltaire had spent several years in England; he was thoroughly interested in the freedom allowed Englishmen and impressed by the superiority of English institutions over those of the French. Because of his criticisms of French society, his "Letters on the English" was burned publicly. Later he spent a few years in the court of Frederick the Great and undoubtedly had an influence on the reforms inaugurated by that Prussian monarch (§ 69). Throughout his long career he was a severe critic of the established order as it existed in his day and particularly of the institution of that day, the church, which he thought interfered most with the adoption of reforms and new ideas. "The reforms which Voltaire especially desired were individual liberty, the equalization of the burdens of taxation, the abolition of serfdom, the suppression of feudal dues, and the organization of public education." His wit, his abhorrence of injustice, his fearlessness in attack-

Ideas and experiences of Voltaire.

VOLTAIRE

ing evils in high places or low gave him a place at the head of the reformers of his day.

Nature of the Encyclopedia.

105. The Encyclopedists and Rousseau. — Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century a group of reform writers published a series of nearly thirty volumes, entitled the Encyclopedia. Although many of the articles were exceedingly moderate in tone, a very large number of them embodied the reform ideas of the editor, *Diderot* (Did-e-ro′), and of other reform philosophers. In other words, they exposed to ridicule the outworn institutions of that day, they called attention to abuses of privileges, and criticized the arbitrary powers exercised by absolute monarchs. They explained the principles of the new science and discussed, in great detail with numerous illustrations, many processes of manufacture.

Rousseau and the return to nature.

In his "Social Contract," *Rousseau* (Roo-so′) contended that in early political society men had lived in a state of nature, that they had granted the right to rule them to leaders who had extended their powers until they had enslaved the people. In a volume on education Rousseau contended that men should return to nature and should be as natural as possible in learning and in governing themselves.

Opposition to the mercantilist doctrines.

106. The Physiocrats and Adam Smith. — We have already noted the doctrines of the mercantilists whose followers influenced Colbert (§ 56) and other statesmen. They favored a policy of restricting imports in order to increase the wealth of the country, particularly by enlarging its supply of gold and silver. In the eighteenth century there arose a group of philosophers who were interested in economics; they were known as the physiocrats. Prominent among them were *Quesnay* (Kes′nay), who contended that agriculture is far more important than any other industry, therefore government should be supported by a single tax upon land and agriculture.

Other economists of that day who opposed the paternalistic policy of the mercantilists [1] advocated the opposite, " the let alone policy," which is usually associated with the expression " Laissez faire et laissez passer." " Free trade " in England (§ 000) applied these principles.

The first modern economist, Adam Smith.

Far abler and more influential than any of the French economists was the English writer on economics, *Adam Smith*. In 1776, the year in which the United States became independent of Great Britain, Adam Smith published his work entitled " The Wealth of Nations." Smith was opposed to the general policies of the mercantilists and therefore objected to artificial restrictions upon foreign commerce which interfered with agriculture or industry. Not only did he favor a freer trade than had ever been permitted between modern nations, but he explained the principles underlying economics with such skill that he really created a new science. Most writers on economics since that day owe a great debt to Adam Smith.

The Enlightened Despots

Increasing despotism accompanied by some important social reform.

107. Benevolent Despotism. — In the years before the French Revolution important changes were occurring in different countries not only in the spread of reform ideas but in the actual relief from abuses, for kings as well as people were interested in reform,[2] and on the continent of Europe the monarchs were absolute. Each had sufficient authority to carry most of his plans into effect to increase his territories and his power at home as well as to make extensive reforms. If he was public spirited and understood the trend of the age, he tried to unite his people, he reformed his laws, he attacked the worst abuses

[1] E. E. C., § 727.

[2] The map of Europe was undergoing changes as well. Notice especially the partitions of Poland (§ 65).

in the church, and he abolished the greatest hardships of the serfs. Naturally these despots did not give to the people a greater share in the government than they had had before. In fact they took away many local assemblies and privileges, for they wished the king to be all-powerful.

Names of the most important despots.

Not in one country, but all over continental Europe did these changes occur, especially in the lands of the most prominent enlightened despots, Frederick II of Prussia (§ 69), Catherine II of Russia (§ 64), and Joseph II of Austria.

Need of reform in 1750.

108. Reform of Old Privileges. — In practically all continental countries at the middle of the eighteenth century some medieval customs and usages survived in the form of privileges. It is customary to speak of this epoch as that of the "*ancien régime*" (ray-zheme′), and we shall study its main features in France before the Great Revolution (§§ 111–119). No benevolent despot abolished many of the old abuses, for those who had privileges were tenacious of their rights.

Feudal and legal reforms.

Some of the reforms made by these despots modified feudalism as it existed in the early eighteenth century. Occasionally *feudal dues* and *serfdom*[1] were abolished, but usually the arbitrary orders of the absolute monarchs did little more than lighten the worst feudal burdens.[2] In Prussia and in France a considerable number of old local tolls were abolished (§ 15). This action encouraged trade between different districts. In harmony with the

[1] *Frederick the Great of Prussia* abolished serfdom on the *Prussian royal lands* (§ 69). Neither Frederick nor Catherine II of Russia were able to help the serfs on the land of the nobles.

[2] In Sar-din′i-a, the most important kingdom of northern Italy, many old feudal abuses were destroyed. In his Austrian lands and to some extent in his other domains, Joseph II abolished feudal services and burdens. In France, Turgot (Tur-go′), minister of Louis XVI, lowered the cost of carrying grain from one district to another. He abolished forced labor of the peasants on roads.

teachings of Beccaria, torture was abolished in Prussia and in one or two other countries. All of the benevolent despots sought to unify the laws of their countries. Catherine II's attempt to codify the laws of Russia was unsuccessful; however, Frederick II was fortunate, for he not only introduced many new reforms but practically completed a code of the Prussian law (§ 69). We must not imagine, however, that the national law in any country did away with the local laws and customs; they survived everywhere in continental Europe, differing in each community and province (§ 112).

Joseph II of Austria

Attempt reforms and methods.

109. Joseph II as an Enlightened Despot.—We have already considered the benevolent despotism of Catherine of Russia and of Frederick the Great. Neither of these, however, was the typical enlightened despot. That title belongs to Joseph II of Austria, Emperor from 1765 to 1790. Joseph II was a student of the reform philosophers, was very much influenced by the reform spirit of his age, and was anxious to unite his heterogeneous races into a united people. He attempted too many things at the same time, and, as Frederick the Great said, he always did the second thing before he did the first.[1]

[1] One historian gives the following summary of Joseph's reforms: He desired "to consolidate all his domains into one homogeneous whole; to abolish all privileges and exclusive rights; to obliterate the boundaries of nations and substitute for them a mere administrative division of his whole Empire; to merge all nationalities and establish a uniform code of justice; to raise the mass of the community to legal equality with their

CHRONOLOGICAL

GENERAL EUROPEAN		DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES		FRANCE	
1618	Beginning of Thirty Years' War				
			Gustavus Adolphus (Sweden)		
		1640	The Great Elector (Prussia)	1643	Louis XIV
1648	Peace of Westphalia				
		1682	Peter the Great (Russia)		
					Rule of Colbert
				1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes
	Coalitions under William of Orange against Louis XIV			1689	Beginning of Second Hundred Years' War
1701	War of Spanish Succession		Charles XII (Sweden)		
1713	Treaty of Utrecht			1715	Death of Louis XIV
					Law's Mississippi Bubble
1740	War of the Austrian Succession	1740	Frederick the Great (Prussia)		
		1740	Maria Theresa (Austria)		
1756	Seven Years' War				
		1762	Catharine II (Russia)		
1763	Treaty of Paris			1763	French lose colonial possessions
		1765	Joseph II (Emperor)		
					Turgot
1778	Revolutionary War	1779	Siege of Gibraltar		
					Necker
1783	Peace of Paris			1787	Assembly of Notables
				1789	States-General

TABLE

ENGLAND		REST OF WORLD	
1603	James I	1607	Jamestown
		1620	Plymouth
1628	Petition of Right	1629	Great Migration to New England
1635	Ship Money		
1642	Civil War		
1649	Commonwealth		
1653	Protectorate		French explorations in America
			Russians in Siberia
1660	Restoration		
		1686	Dominion of New England
1688	Glorious Revolution	1689	Revolutions in America
			Queen Anne's War
1715	George I		
	Walpole prime minister		English in India
			Contests between governors and people in America
1757	William Pitt prime minister	1757	Plassey (battle, India)
		1759	Quebec (siege, America)
1763	New imperial policy	1763	French lose America and India
	Building up party of King's Friends	1765	Stamp Act troubles
1774	Policy of repression	1775	Second Continental Congress
		1776	Declaration of Independence
1775	War with colonies	1777	Saratoga (battle)
1778	War with France	1781	Yorktown (siege)
			Confederation
1784	Restoration of Cabinet Government	1787	Constitutional Convention
		1789	Inauguration of Washington

Limitation of provincial rights and attempts to consolidate Austrian possessions.

Maria Theresa, mother of Joseph, had used her absolute authority to destroy many privileges of the provincial diets; she brought the provinces under control through royal representatives sent out from Vienna. Joseph not only attempted to take away what remained of the powers of the diets, but he also attempted to consolidate his territory into a single state organized into districts which were to be governed from Vienna. As we know that even in the twentieth century Austria is not a united state and that each race still has its own usages and customs and desires independent government (§§ 000–000), we can easily understand that Joseph II failed completely to unite his dominions.

Result of Joseph's reforms.

Since Joseph attempted to interfere with the privileges of the nobles and clergy,[1] both of these powerful orders opposed his policies. Naturally no monarch, however absolute, could bring about in a few years reforms which the people did not want, and for which there was no preparation; reforms which did not take into account old prejudices, established customs, and differences of race, language, and belief. The work of Joseph was therefore doomed to failure and he died a disappointed man. Two of his reforms, however, were permanent and important; he abolished serfdom, and also feudal tenure, in the distinctively *Austrian* lands.

former masters; to constitute a uniform level of democratic simplicity under his own absolute sway."

[1] In order to make himself real ruler in Austria, it was necessary for Joseph to reduce the influence and power of the Pope over his people. The Emperor therefore temporarily granted toleration to all religions, and he allowed Protestants to have their own churches and schools. He abolished many convents and monasteries and tried to bring the Catholic bishops under royal authority. Fearing the influence of these changes, the Pope visited Vienna, where he was treated with extreme courtesy, but Joseph practically kept him a prisoner and decided who should visit his Holiness.

General References

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 33–61.
Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 280–297, 350–393.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 157–195.
Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols.
Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V.
Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*.

Topics

Punishment of Offenders on the Continent: Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 110–118; Lea, *Superstition and Force*, Chapter X; Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 284–311.

Charity in France: Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 267–284; Hugon, *Social France in the Eighteenth Century*, 167–197.

Voltaire: Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 168–172; Morley, *Voltaire*; Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 51–69; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Voltaire."

Studies

1. Lawlessness in England. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 192–216.
2. The work of John Howard. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 656–664.
3. French education. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 241–267.
4. Industrial changes and paupers in England. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 454–460.
5. Kitchen and table. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 367–387.
6. French theaters. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 387–415.
7. Improvements in surgery. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 569–573.
8. Eighteenth century treatment of smallpox. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, 580–584.
9. Suppression of the Jesuits. Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 290–297.

10. Joseph II. Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 350–358.

11. The "Encyclopedia." Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 243–260.

Questions

1. Make a table comparing the offenses, methods of trying cases, and methods of punishment in England and on the Continent.

2. What forms of torture were used in Europe and for what purposes? How many of the principles advocated by Beccaria are practiced at the present time? Who was Howard and what did he do for the reform of the eighteenth century prisons?

3. How were problems of poverty treated in England before 1790? What was the Speenhamland system, and why was it opposed? To what extent did the eighteenth century develop successful philanthropic methods? What improvements had been developed for fighting epidemics? What progress had been made in the practice of surgery? To what extent was there improved sanitation before 1800? Compare in each case with present day methods.

4. What powers were exercised by the Jesuits? Why were they disliked by other church officials? by nobles and kings? by merchant burghers?

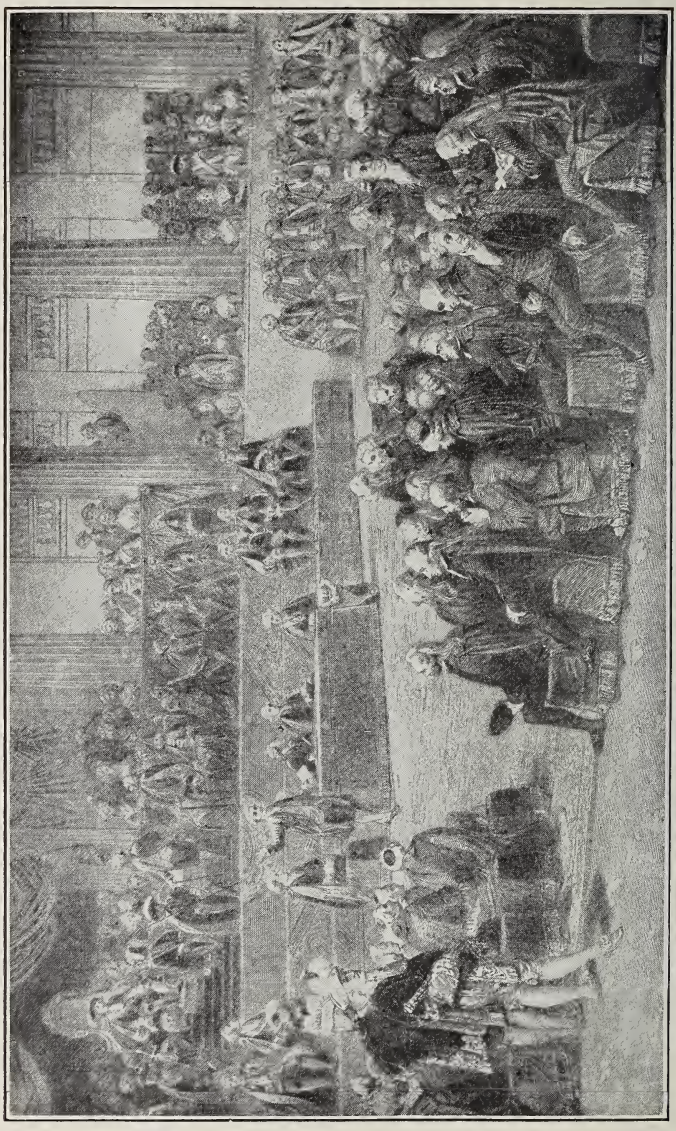
5. Why were there reform philosophers in the last half of the eighteenth century? Why were most of these French or connected with France? What does the world owe to Voltaire? to Rousseau? to the Encyclopedists? to Adam Smith?

6. Explain these terms: encyclopedists, benevolent despotism, separation of departments of government, social compact or contract, single tax, laissez faire, protection. Why were there benevolent despots in the last half of the eighteenth century? Name three, show that each was despotic and describe also some phase of their enlightened rule. Before the Great War, were any European rulers despotic? To what extent were they benevolent despots?

7. Enumerate the most important reforms which were made in the latter part of the eighteenth century? Name reforms which Joseph II undertook, and explain as fully as possible why he failed as a reformer.

PART II

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION (1789–1849)



MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL

CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

110. The Beginning of a New Europe. — The old régime as it was in France and in other countries of the Continent after the middle of the eighteenth century no longer exists in Europe. So long had it lasted, so great was its power, so firm was its determination to keep its privileges that it could not be overthrown by peaceful reform. Only revolution could free Europe from the old régime. In France, where there was no benevolent despot and reforms were incomplete, the overthrow was sudden and complete. We call this great change, probably "the greatest turning point as yet discernible in modern history," the French Revolution.

Impossibility of destroying the old régime through reform.

The work of the French Revolution was not limited to France. The spirit that led the French people to abolish the old régime in France led them also to attempt self-government as a nation — the first French Republic. It led them to offer aid to other peoples in their struggle for the "liberty, equality, fraternity" which was the motto of the French Revolution. It led them to support their great leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, in his conquests and reforms outside of France. The example of these enthusiastic French republicans caused other European peoples to demand the reform of abuses and the abolition of privileges. *By the French Revolution a new era of world history was ushered in*, an era that, within a few decades, brought to central Europe a very considerable

The work of the French Revolution, at first, under Napoleon, and in later revolutions.

degree of national unity, constitutional government, and personal liberty.

Distinction between the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror.

The French Revolution is not to be confused with the Reign of Terror (§ 137). The Revolution was a widespread movement which completely reorganized France; the Reign of Terror, a brief experience in severe government. The Revolution, moreover, began as a protest, not against bad government nor against poor financiering, but against the privileges of the old régime. What those privileges were, what the old régime was, we shall now notice briefly.

The Old Régime in France

Old abuses and new usurpations.

111. Feudal and Monarchical Character of the Old Régime. — As indicated above, the name "old régime" is applied to the order of things which existed before the French Revolution. Although several centuries had elapsed since the Feudal Age, a great many essential features of the medieval Church and of feudal government survived in the eighteenth century. Even more old privileges of the clergy and nobles persisted. The "*ancien régime*" was not only medieval in character; it was also monarchical, since the ruler in each country was an absolute monarch or a despot.

The old régime in different countries.

These conditions existed to a limited extent in England and Holland; consequently the old régime cannot be studied in those countries. In France it survived chiefly in the form of *social* and *economic* privileges.[1] In the rest of western and central Europe it included not only *political* rights for the upper classes but *serfdom*[2] for most of the people.

112. Extent of National Development in France. — During the Middle Ages France was not a country in which every one fought for the same suzerain, or lived

[1] Cf. §§ 116, 117. [2] Cf. § 8.

under the same laws, or were entitled to the same rights. France was a kingdom with a feudal king who really ruled only his own royal domain.[1] By the time of the Renaissance, the kings had gained many absolute powers; until the eighteenth century they continued to become more absolute and arbitrary. This united the French because it brought them under a strong central government.

Consolidation of the royal power in France.

During the Middle Ages there was no French nation. The Hundred Years' War helped to unite the people, especially when Joan of Arc led them against the English invaders. In the eighteenth century it might be said that the French were not only more intelligent than almost any other race in Europe, but that they had more interests in common. In other words they were united, for France was beginning to be a real nation.

Growing unity of the French people.

113. Lack of Uniformity in France. — We would naturally suppose that a people who form a nation and have an absolute monarch would not have many different types and kinds of local government and laws. But in France the traveler found very numerous and important differences as he journeyed from Paris to the remote provinces.

Dissimilarities in France.

Before 1789 France was divided into provinces. In the older provinces the government and laws were more or less uniform. In those which had been added to the kingdom during the four hundred years preceding the French Revolution, there were assemblies which had the right to levy their own taxes. These provinces had other special privileges which were not enjoyed by the old provinces.

Provincial privileges and differences.

Not only did *certain provinces have special privileges* but throughout France *each locality had its own set of customs, laws,* and officials, and each was governed ac-

Survival of sets of local laws and courts.

[1] E. E. C., § 598.

cording to local custom. There was not one law in France; there were more than three hundred sets of local customs and regulations. An act that was a crime in one town might be treated very differently in each of the neighboring villages. Besides the hundreds of sets of local customs, there were tens of thousands of courts, the survivals of the old feudal courts.[1] Although the people of France did not yet form a real nation, they objected to these differences.

Absolutism in France.

114. The Government of France. — We call the French king an absolute ruler, since he made laws or regulations arbitrarily, believed that he ruled by "divine right," and therefore considered himself above the law, as did James II of England (§ 36); yet we can see from the preceding section that his power was limited to some degree by the rights and privileges of many local governments and by the many hundred systems of law.

Centralized administration through the royal council and the intendants.

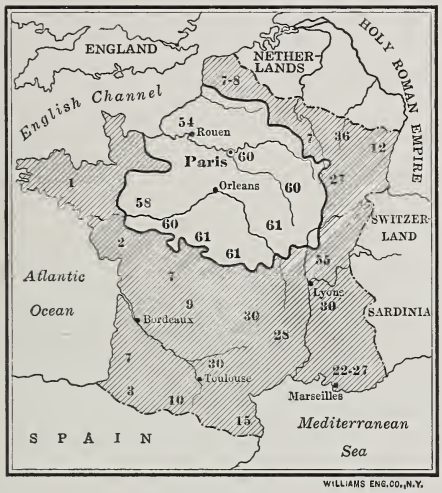
The real work of governing France was done, not by the king or by the local governments, but by a *royal council* for the central government and by *intendants* for local affairs. The royal council consisted of forty members; it looked after the finances, the maintenance of order, and a hundred other matters. France was divided into twenty-four districts, over each of which was placed an intendant appointed by the crown. These intendants enforced the laws; in addition they, with their assistants, gave permits for the building of houses, the sale of cattle, the holding of celebrations, and many other affairs. So extensive was their power that they were popularly known as the "Thirty Tyrants."

The land tax and the burden of the peasants.

115. Taxation. — In order to support these governments and the extravagant court of the king, numerous taxes were levied. Several of these were strongly disliked by the people, particularly the salt tax (*ga-belle'*),

[1] E. E. C., §§ 479, 490.

the land tax (*taille*, ta'y), and the road tax (*cor-vee'*). Although the church owned about one fifth of the land in France and the king and nobles owned about as much more, neither the clergy nor the nobility paid any of the *land taxes*. The burden upon the peasants was



Region of the French Great Salt Tax

therefore very heavy. In consequence, throughout France we find the common people living in apparent poverty in order that their land tax might be as light as possible. The repairs on houses were neglected, and the yards were left in poor condition, even though, in rooms at the rear which the tax assessor did not visit, there might be mahogany furniture or fine Se'vres china. In spite of these attempts to evade taxation, writers have contended that the land tax took from the peasants nearly one half of the produce of the average farm.

The hated road tax.

More objectionable than the land tax was the hated *corvee*, which consisted of forced labor on the roads or on

public works. The lord[1] or the local officials might demand the services of the people or their ox teams at any time, even when seed must be planted or crops must be harvested.

Income tax and indirect taxes that were "farmed."

The clergy and the nobles were exempt from these taxes, but the nobles paid their share of an income tax called the "*twentieth*" which was levied upon each town or community. There was in addition another tax called the capitation or *poll tax*. The right to collect the *salt tax* and *other indirect taxes* was sold to a corporation of tax farmers, similar to those of the Roman Republic.[2] These men paid a definite sum to the government; they extorted from the people such additional amounts as they could.

Existence of local tolls and octroi taxes.

Part of the expense of the local governments was paid by customs duties which were collected by most towns and by many of the baronies in France. These octroi (oc-trwa′) or tolls were not so common as in the Middle Ages,[3] but they were still sufficiently numerous to make commerce difficult. If a merchant wished to carry his goods to market he might be obliged to pay these dues ten, fifteen, or twenty times before he was able to sell his product in the nearest city. Imagine going from New York to Boston and being obliged to pay duty at every town through which one passed. That was what happened when one went from Paris to Lyons in 1775. These duties were of course a severe tax on trade, often making it quite unprofitable.[4]

116. The Clergy. — In addition to taxes the peasants were obliged to give "tithes" to the church.[5] These

[1] The term *corvee* really included all forced labor or service. The lord's service was limited to twelve days a year, that of the government was unlimited.

[2] E. E. C., § 331.

[3] Cf. E. E. C., § 567. Octroi duties are still collected at the gates of many French and other European cities (§§ 000, 000).

[4] On tolls cf. § 15 *n*.

[5] E. E. C., § 521.

did not actually amount to one tenth of the income of the people, but they fell upon a people already heavily burdened. The tithes supported an organization that, being practically exempt from taxes, did not pay its share toward the support of the state. The church had also the income from its own extensive lands.

The church had the tithes and the revenues from its untaxed lands.

The church had its own laws and its own courts. In many respects it constituted a state within a state. It tolerated no faiths other than its own; and in general it was not in full sympathy with the times or the people.

The church a privileged medieval organization.

In eighteenth-century France there were higher and lower clergy, as in the Middle Ages.[1] The higher clergy had good salaries, so that, although they constituted only one sixth of the church officials, they had five sixths of the church revenues. The higher clergy, being nobles appointed by the king, spent as much time at court as they did in the care of their abbeys or bishoprics. The low secular clergy, the priests, belonged to the common people. They were overworked and underpaid.

High-salaried prelates and underpaid curates.

117. The Nobility. — *The second privileged class* was made up of nobles. About one person in two hundred was a member of a noble family, although comparatively few persons belonged to the real nobility which owned the larger estates, enjoyed most of the offices, lived at court, and was really privileged.

The privileged nobility and the ordinary nobles.

The nobles owned about as much land then as the church. They enjoyed exemption from taxation, besides many other privileges. They had many hunting rights; the peasant might not shoot doves or hares, even if this game destroyed crops. In some parts of France the peasants could not build fences, because fences interfered with the sport of mounted huntsmen. The peasants were still obliged to bring their grain to the noble's mill and perhaps bake their bread in the noble's oven,

Specific privileges of the nobles.

[1] E. E. C., § 521.

being charged good round prices, as the lord had a monopoly. The lord levied tolls on the roads of his estate, even if the roads were kept up by the labor of the peasants. If a flock was driven by his residence or a wagon passed laden for market, he took a part as his toll. Such were some of the objectionable privileges that had survived from feudal times, when most of them had existed for good reason.

The *bourgeoisie* and their opportunities.

118. The Middle Classes. — Between the privileged classes and the country peasants there was a class of artisans, lawyers, manufacturers, merchants, and bankers that lived in cities. These we called the *bourgeoisie* (§ 14). Most of the minor offices in the government were held by members of this middle class, who were industrious and efficient. The more successful of the *bourgeoisie* bought for themselves titles of nobility, but they could not buy the respect of the nobles, or real power in the government, or privileges that belonged to the old aristocracy.

Discontent and ambitions of the *bourgeoisie.*

The middle class chafed under a system that created monopoly for a few and interfered with the making of money. *They were ambitious and discontented.* When the revolution came, they deprived the old aristocracy of many privileges, and tried to make a new government which would specially represent their interests. *The French Revolution was, in fact, largely the work of the* bourgeoisie.

The peasant and his burdens.

119. The Peasants. — Last, and at the time least, were the peasants. Less than one tenth of the peasants were serfs. The rest were personally free. Most of them "owned" their land; that is, the land belonged in the family, subject to a yearly rent of money, or produce, or both, payable to the lord. Besides the money rent were the irritating dues which the lord still exacted and the heavy, unjust taxes. Unlike the *bourgeoisie*, the peasants did not ask for political power, but for relief

from heavy taxes, from rents on land that really belonged to them, and from abuses that had survived from feudal times.

Prosperity of the peasants.

Although comparatively few of the peasants could read, they lived in a fair degree of comfort, had a fair supply of food, and had collected some household furniture, some china dishes, and a good supply of linen. They might be obliged to hide their prosperity for fear that the tax collector would make too high an assessment of their property or income; but undoubtedly the peasants were better off in France than in almost any other country except England. That the privileged classes in France had fewer privileges than most nobles and clergymen elsewhere on the Continent did not make the French peasants better contented; for the French peasant, having made some progress, demanded more, whereas the peasants of Spain or Germany were too degraded to realize their condition.

Attempted Reform in France

France at the death of Louis XV.

120. France under Louis XVI. — This picture of France under the old régime gives us some idea of the situation when Louis XVI became king in 1774. His predecessor had not made his work easy, for Louis XV had been a selfish and extravagant king, despotic but not benevolent. Very few reforms had taken place during his reign of fifty years. When a needed reform was mentioned, he would say, "Well, enough of that, things will last as long as we do."

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

When Louis XV died, Louis XVI and his beautiful wife, Marie An-toi-nette′, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria and sister of Joseph II, became king and queen of France. Louis XVI really would have preferred to be a locksmith rather than king. Marie Antoinette was very unlike either her energetic, capable mother or her

large-hearted fanatical brother, and her court was filled with unwise and extravagant courtiers. What France needed was a king of vision, a leader with backbone; Louis XVI, well-meaning and indolent, had neither.

Park of Little Trianon. (With Marie Antoinette's Dairy

Turgot, economist and practical reformer.

121. Turgot. — Louis began well by appointing Turgot minister of Finance. As an intendant, Turgot had been a practical and successful reformer. He was also recognized as one of the greatest of the new economists, who believed in giving industry and the worker as great freedom as possible.

Turgot attempted to carry out many *reforms*.[1] He

[1] Among Turgot's proposed reforms were the following: "the gradual introduction of a complete system of local self-government, the abolition of the *corvee*, the imposition of a land tax upon the nobility and clergy; the amelioration of the condition of curés and vicars, and the suppression of the greater part of the monasteries; the equalization of the tax by means of a land survey, liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; redemption of feudal revenues; a single code; a uniform system of weights and measures for the whole kingdom; the suppression of wardenships and masterships, which impeded industry; freedom of thought as well as of commerce and industry; finally, he interested himself in moral as well as in material needs, forming a vast plan of public instruction which should shed light in every direction." (Duruy, *History of France*, p. 523.)

allowed free trade in grain in order that local famines should not occur as in the reign of Louis XV. He put an end to most of the abuses of tax farming. He abolished the hated *corvee*, which compelled the peasants to work on the roads. He tried to abolish the special privileges of the gilds, to make the nobles pay taxes, and to reform the church, thus arousing the opposition of nobility and clergy. As he was ungainly in appearance and lacked tact, it is not strange that the king as well as all the privileged classes in France turned against him. After he was dismissed (1776), practically all his reforms were abandoned.

Turgot's extensive programs of reforms.

122. Financial Troubles. — The American War for Independence, in which France hoped to humble Great Britain, added to the burdens of one of Turgot's successor, *Necker*, a banker from Geneva. Necker, however, performed one important public service. He published a financial report, which explained the state of the public finances. Although it was not very accurate, it had the same effect as the "publicity" methods used by our governments in recent years. It called attention to abuses and aroused public opinion against them. The privileged classes immediately put Necker out of office. After his fall the financial situation grew worse.

Necker's report on the public finances.

In 1787 an *assembly of the "notables"* (clergy and nobles) was held, with the hope that the privileged classes would introduce some scheme for new taxes or would provide other reforms. The assembly agreed to reforms similar to those proposed by Turgot, so long as they did not interfere with the special privileges of the "notables"; but the members refused to vote any tax which would be levied on themselves. The financial problem was therefore more acute than ever, as France was heavily in debt and drifting into bankruptcy. As a last resort *it was decided to call the States-General*, which had not

Assembly of the notables.

met since 1614. Everywhere there was rejoicing, for king, nobles, clergy, and common people believed that the States-General would end all their troubles.

The Early Revolutions

Composition and election of the States-General.

123. Calling of the States-General. — The States-General had always consisted of the three estates, clergy, nobility, and the third estate. From all parts of France demands were made that the third estate should have as many deputies as both the others. This was granted. All deputies for each order were to be elected from local districts. In consequence there were in the first estate a great many curates, about two thirds of the whole number, and a large number of the lesser nobles were chosen to the second estate.

Mirabeau

The third estate.

The members of the third estate represented the people, though they were not elected directly by popular vote. Among the deputies to this estate were found many lawyers and many magistrates. There were also some nobles, by far the greatest of whom was the huge, brainy Count de Mi-ra-beau′. The Abbé Sie-yes′, later the constitution maker of France, said of this body: "What is the third estate? The nation. What is it now? Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything."

The cahiers and their demands.

Each district and order was allowed to make out instructions or *cahiers* for its deputies. These *cahiers* are a mine of information concerning the interests and desires, the needs and demands of the French people.

They give us valuable information concerning the social, economic, and political abuses of the ancient régime. "It was liberty rather than equality that seemed to be the universal cry."

Famine and cold (1788–1789).

124. The Meeting of the States-General. — The crops of 1788 were unusually small, and the following winter was exceedingly severe. To the financial difficulties of the government and the former discontent of the people was now added acute distress. The reform of the old order would have been a much simpler task if so many people at the time had not been cold and half starved.

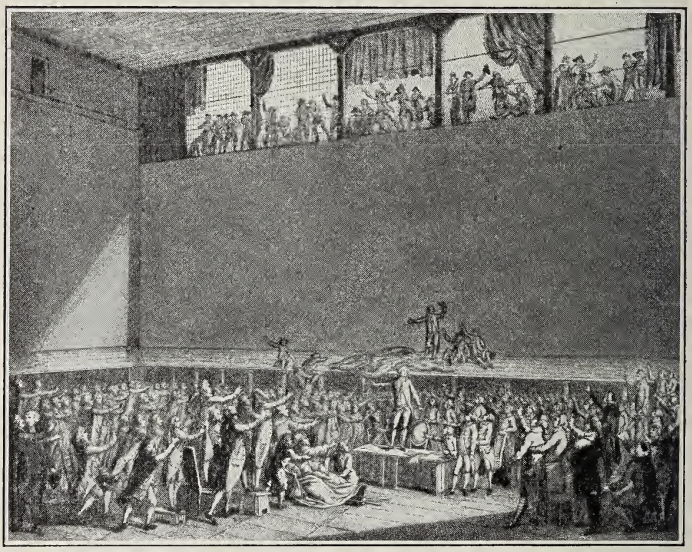
The problem of organization and voting.

As there were twice as many deputies in the third estate as there were in either of the other two, the first important question which arose was: How should the estates vote? *Should they vote as orders, or should the vote be taken by the members as individuals?* The privileged orders naturally insisted that they should vote as separate estates, just as all former States-General had done. The third estate desired that there should be a single assembly, in which all should vote as individuals. The first meeting was held on May 5, 1789. The hall was crowded, and an interesting speech was given by the king, followed by a long, dull paper on the finances by Necker, who was again in office. The estates immediately tried to organize, the nobles organizing themselves as a separate order, the third estate demanding a single assembly, and the clergy waiting to see what could best be done, although many of the lesser clergy actually met with the members of the third estate.

The tennis court oath.

125. The National Assembly. — Against a single national assembly king, nobles, and upper churchmen protested vigorously. They had met, they declared, to reform the finances, not to revolutionize the government. On the 20th of June, 1789, the doors of the hall where the third estate held its meeting were closed by

royal orders. Immediately the third estate adjourned to a tennis court near by, "at once the Run-ny-mede' and the Independence Hall of France." Here the deputies, with upraised hands, amid intense excitement, swore that they would not separate until they had made a constitution for France.



Oath of the Tennis Court

The third estate defies the king, who yields.

The king now called all of the members together and addressed them, asking the estates to separate and vote by orders. The nobles and some of the clergy obeyed. The "representatives of the nation" kept their seats. When the master of ceremonies said to them: "Gentlemen, you have heard the king's orders," Mirabeau, the new leader of France, rising, thundered in reply, "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we shall be removed only at the point of the bayonet." The revolution had begun.

126. The Fall of the Bastille. — Three weeks later the national assembly objected to the troops that the court party wished to use in overawing the assembly. The king at once dismissed his minister, Necker, who seemed to stand for reform. Paris was instantly aroused to a frenzy. Mobs from the worst quarters of the city looted stores, and, on the 14th of July, they attacked the Bas-tille′ in which political prisoners had been detained under lettres de cachet (§ 95). Some of the mob crossed the drawbridge, only to be shot down. A few hours later the Bastille surrendered. The besiegers went wild, the Swiss guards were slaughtered, and the commander of the Bastille and several Parisian gentlemen who supported the old régime were murdered. When the king heard of it, he cried out, "This is a revolt." "No, your Majesty," a courtier replied, "it is revolution." Throughout France, and in many other parts of Europe, there was rejoicing over the destruction of the prison which had stood for much that was odious in the old régime.

The Paris mob captures the old political prison.

Place de la Bastille

127. The night of the Fourth of August. — Throughout France there were uprisings. Tax collectors were mobbed, hated aristocrats were murdered, and châteaux were burned. These things were not done because the people loved violence; the revolutionists desired simply the removal of unjust taxes and the destruction of papers which proved that they were bondmen. When the

Disorder throughout France.

records of feudal payments were delivered to them, they were satisfied. If the records were not forthcoming, chateau and records were burned together.

The destruction of the old régime, with its privileges and abuses.

On the night of the fourth of August, 1789, a committee of the national assembly gave a report on the state of the country. The members were aghast at the havoc wrought by the peasants. Then followed one of the strangest, wildest, and most momentous scenes in the history of parliaments. Nobles and clergy vied with each other in *giving up privileges*. Hunting rights were given up, as were rights to tithes, the salt monopoly, and exemption from taxation. All serfs were freed. The customs districts were destroyed. Special privileges of towns were surrendered. So far as it could be done by decree, the old régime was destroyed in a few short hours. There was opportunity to construct a new France based upon freedom and equality.

The march to Versailles, Oct. 5, 1789.

128. Second Uprising of the People. — The national assembly made many promises on that famous evening; it spent almost two years carrying out some of them and framing a constitution for France. Meanwhile discontent was growing in Paris and in the provinces. The price of bread was exceedingly high. As the cities were crowded with tramps and with unemployed men, there was constant danger of trouble. About the first of October a dinner was given by the nobility at which insults were offered to the national assembly and the tricolor. On October 5th the Parisian mob, led by women of the lower quarter, marched to Versailles, demanding bread. La Fayette followed with the national guard and persuaded the king, his family, and the assembly to return to Paris. "We have the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy, now we shall have bread," was the cry of the women. The king and the assembly could now be influenced by the *bourgeoisie* or be overawed

by the Paris mob. In the provinces the peasants were disappointed at the slowness with which the assembly worked and with the laws which it passed in order to carry out the promises of August 4.

Official numeration of the "rights of man."

129. Declaration of Rights. — The members of the national assembly liked to talk, and they liked to talk on general principles rather than on specific laws. With zeal they adopted in the fall of 1789 a "Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen." This declaration reminds us of our own Declaration of Independence and of the bills of rights in our state constitutions. It declared that men are born free and remain free and equal in rights. It stated that the nation is sovereign. It maintained that citizens have a right to help make the laws and to equality before the law, and that taxes should be payable in proportion to the wealth of the citizens. In short, it asserted that all citizens should have individual rights similar to those to which Englishmen in England or America were accustomed.

Forward character of the new government.

130. The Government under the New Constitution. — Gradually the assembly developed a constitution. By this all citizens were divided into two classes, active and passive. The active citizens included those who paid a tax equivalent to three days' labor; they were allowed to vote. The constitution provided for a single legislative assembly elected by the people. The king was allowed to veto laws, but a bill could become a law without his consent if voted by three successive legislatures. The king was not allowed to control the army.

New department, a decentralized local government, and fair trials.

The assembly abolished all customs districts (§ 15), and local systems of law (§ 3). It also abolished the old provinces (§ 113) with their special privileges. France could now be organized as a nation. In place of the *old provinces* France was divided into eighty-two *departments*, each of which was subdivided into *districts* and *munici-*

palities. All local governments were to be made up of elected officials. In consequence the *government of France was highly decentralized.* No longer were nobles allowed to hold court on their estates as some had since the Middle Ages, but new systems of local and general courts were created to protect the rights of the citizens and to apply the laws. Provision was made not only for *jury trial* in criminal cases, but for open and fair trial. *Punishments were made more just,* and the death penalty was to be inflicted by decapitation, for which a new instrument called the guillotine was invented.

Secularization of church lands.

131. Finances and Church Lands. — The assembly did not really interfere with the church until it needed money. Then it decided to take over the church lands, because it maintained that these lands had been given by the nation to the church in order that it might care for the people. Now that the nation was looking directly after the interests of its members, they believed that the government should supervise the church and should take charge of the church lands. At first an attempt was made to sell those lands, but without success.

Changes in taxation and issues of paper money.

Since many of the old taxes such as the "gabelle," the "octroi," and the tobacco monopoly had been abolished, the government did not have as much revenue as before.[1] Consequently, it began to issue paper money, called *assignats,* the church lands being used as security; that is, the government treated the paper money as a loan made to it by the people and considered the lands as mortgaged for the payment of the assignats. The temptation to make money by running the printing press was so great that bills aggregating in value twenty-nine bil-

[1] The *new system of taxation* included a land tax assessable on all classes, a personal property tax, a tax on industries and commerce, and a tariff on imports and exports. In fact either these taxes were not levied or they produced little revenue.

lions of francs were eventually issued. Naturally these depreciated so much that it was necessary to have the "law of the maximum" (§ 136), which fixed the maximum price that might be charged for any commodity.

Secularization of church property.

132. Church and State. — Beginning with the decree of November 2, 1789, the state took over not only the property of the church which we have just mentioned, but the work of the church in addition. Churchmen were to be paid by the government, and a minimum salary of twelve hundred francs and lodging was guaranteed to every priest. That was at least double the former salary of the curates. The assembly forbade the payment of papal dues and suppressed the monasteries.

Oath of clergy to support the French constitution.

By the *civil constitution of the clergy*, 1790, the number of bishops was reduced to one for each department. They, and all other clergymen, were to be elected from their districts. Each was compelled to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution of France, including the civil constitution of the clergy. This policy was opposed by the public, by practically all bishops, and by many curates. Clergy who failed to take the oath were called the "non-juring priests."

Work of the Constituent Assembly (1789–1791).

This first national assembly was known as the *Constituent Assembly* because it made a constitution (1789–1791). In addition it decreed the abolition of abuses; on the night of the fourth of August and later, it actually freed the peasants from many obligations which had survived from feudal times, and it arranged for the purchase by the peasants of the land which they occupied.

Emigrant nobles in Germany.

133. War with Austria and Prussia. — Soon after the beginning of the Revolution the brother of Louis XVI had left France. Many of the most conservative or most hated of the nobles also emigrated. In the valley of the Rhine there were two camps of these "emigrées," who sought constantly to stir up trouble for the new French government.

The "flight" of the king, June, 1791.

Early in the summer of 1791 the king and queen decided to join their friends who had emigrated. On June 21 they left Paris, the queen being dressed as a Russian lady and Louis being disguised as her valet. The queen could not forget that she was queen and they proceeded in the great coach by slow stages. At one town Louis put his head out of the carriage and was recognized. At Varennes they were stopped, taken prisoners, and finally taken back to Paris. From that time the people had even less confidence that Louis was playing the game squarely.

A new, more radical assembly and foreign intervention.

The second national assembly, which met in 1791, was called the *Legislative Assembly*,[1] and was controlled by a group of young, eloquent deputies known as the "Gi-ron'dists."[2] The radicals of this body occupied such high seats in the assembly hall that they were known as the "*Mountain*." The patriotism of this assembly was aroused when the rulers of Prussia and Austria asserted[3] that the restoration of the monarchy in France concerned them as well as France. War with Austria and Prussia did not break out, however, until the spring of 1792. Before invading France, the allied army issued through its commander, the Duke of Brunswick, a manifesto in which it ordered the French people to restore Louis XVI to his proper position and to govern themselves according to the instructions of the allied monarchs.

The French Republic

134. Events Leading to the Republic. — By this time the nation as well as the assembly was thoroughly aroused

[1] The members of the Constituent Assembly unselfishly but unwisely decided that they should not be eligible to election in the new assembly. This deprived that body of the experience gained by its members.

[2] The name is associated with the valley of the Garonne river, from which many leaders of the faction had come.

[3] Declaration of Pillnitz, August 27, 1791.

against royalty. Throughout France was sung the Marseil-laise′, the song of the red revolutionists from Marseilles′, who marched to Paris urging extreme measures. The assembly was ordered to depose the king. When it failed to do so, the mob, August 10, invaded the Tuileries (Twil-ri′), where the king had his residence. The members of the royal family were first removed to the assembly hall and then were kept prisoners in the temple. The Swiss guards offered resistance, but the mob sacked

Attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792.

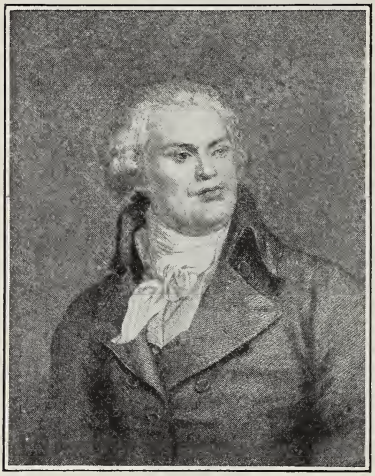
THE LION OF LUCERNE

the Tuileries and killed the defenders almost to a man. The lives of a few were saved, for they mounted statues in the garden, which even the rioters did not wish to injure with the blood of their victims. In Lucerne, Switzerland, a huge lion has been cut in the rock in memory of these brave guards.

During the early years of the revolution the national assembly was slow and rather conservative. Some of the more radical members organized groups in which they discussed public problems and more heroic measures of reform. The most famous of these clubs was the

Famous revolutionary clubs.

Jac′o-bin group, of which La Fayette and Talleyrand were originally members, but from which they resigned when men like Marat (Mar-ra′) and Ro-bes-pierre′ gained control. Similar groups were organized in Paris and throughout France. These men and other radicals were known as *Jacobins.* They were influential in the Legislative Assembly, but they did not gain control until several months after the attack on the Tuileries. Another group in Paris was known as the *Cor-de-lier′* club. The leading spirit of this was *Dan-ton′,* an able but rather brutal lawyer, who was strongly opposed to the monarchy. After the tenth of August Danton became the most prominent figure in France.



DANTON

Events of September, 1792.

As the allied armies advanced toward Paris, the populace became filled with fear and rage. They believed that royalists, nobles, and priests in and near Paris were aiding the enemy; consequently, the first week in September the mob broke into the prisons of Paris and massacred in cold blood more than a thousand royal prisoners. This butchery was known as the *September Massacres.* Later in the month, on the twenty-fifth of September, two important events occurred. The invasion of the Austrians and Prussians was stopped by the battle of *Valmy* and a new assembly, called the *Convention,* met and *organized a republic.*

135. Execution of Louis XVI. — Since the Convention was made up of extremists, in November (1792) it issued a challenge to monarchial Europe, informing all peoples that France would help them to free themselves from their kings. By January, 1793, it was decided to try Louis XVI for conspiracy or treason. Unanimously the members of the Convention voted that he was guilty of conspiracy, but, in spite of the ravings of the radicals in the gallery, his death was decreed by a bare majority. On the twenty-first of January, 1793, Louis was taken from his cell and guillotined in the presence of an enormous crowd.

Trial and execution of the king.

On February first the Convention declared war against England and Holland. By March 9 *all Europe was in arms against France.* Almost immediately disaster overtook the northern French army which had advanced into Belgium and the one farther south which had penetrated to the Rhine river.

New general European war (1793).

136. Conditions Leading to the Terror. — When the call for more troops was ordered in January, some of the districts refused to furnish men. In La Vendee (Ven-day′) the rule of the assembly had never been popular. None of the priests of that district had taken the oath, and they were supported by the peasants, who were exceedingly loyal to the church in its old form. The execution of the king was the finishing touch. La Vendee rose in insurrection. Its example was followed in several cities and in other districts of France.

Call for troops and insurrection in La Vendee.

It seemed to those in authority that the republic could be maintained only by the most severe measures. Since the Convention did not wish to give Danton absolute authority, it organized a *Committee of Public Safety,* comprised of nine members who had great power. To aid them, a tribunal or court was formed which had the right to try persons as arbitrarily as they would be tried

Dictatorial powers exercised by the Committee of Public Safety and its court.

by courts-martial. Being in control of both the executive and judicial branches of the government, the radicals were able to carry out a policy of extreme measures. By this system of terrorizing their opponents, they hoped to keep the republic from destruction.

Attempt of the French government to regulate prices.

Another danger encountered by the rulers of France was that of high prices. During these years of unrest and disorder, business had been rather poor, and the government had issued so much paper money that prices were very high. In order to stop the rise of prices, the government in 1793 decreed or passed the "law of the maximum." It fixed the maximum price for wheat and flour, decreed that the price of other necessities should be only one third more than the price of 1790, and fixed wages one half higher than they were in 1790. These laws could not be enforced, partly because those who had goods would not sell them at those prices.

Danger of arbitrary arrest and trial.

137. The Reign of Terror. — By September, 1793, things had gone from bad to worse. The Convention declared that any one who opposed or criticized the government might be considered guilty of treason. Prisoners suspected of sympathy with the royal cause were no longer safe. Those who had enemies trembled for fear that they too might be imprisoned and tried before the *revolutionary tribunal*. In Paris and in most other cities a condition akin to terror existed. Few dared to speak openly or criticize the rulers of either the nation or the cities.

Atrocities committed by revolutionary governments.

The revolutionary tribunal in Paris did not use its power arbitrarily at first, but in *Lyons*, already the scene of violence early in the Revolution, many hundreds of people were killed by soldiers in the streets, and two thousand were guillotined by the revolutionary tribunal of that city. At *Nantes*, in La Vendee, the more fortunate prisoners were shot down; others were huddled

into leaky hulks of vessels and drowned in the Loire river.

The Festivals of Liberty and the Supreme Being.

The Convention did not approve the orthodox religion of France. It decreed that there should be a new calendar which dated, not from the birth of Christ but from the establishment of the republic, the next twelve months being known as the year one. In Paris a great Festival of Liberty was held. In the stately old Cathedral of Notre Dame there was enthroned, by the red-capped deputies from the Convention and by wild rioters, a Goddess of Reason, around whom danced the women of the slums. This orgy was disapproved by many of the leaders of the government and by most of the people. Months later new leaders of the Committee of Public Safety held a Festival of the Supreme Being, at which three colossal figures symbolizing atheism, discord, and selfishness were burned. Soon afterwards the people insisted that the churches should be opened again for the worship to which they had been accustomed for centuries.

Fall of Danton.

138. Close of the Reign of Terror. — Those responsible for the Festival of Liberty were soon overthrown by their enemies and sent to the guillotine. Soon after, Danton was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, tried, and put to death. "The republic seemed to have become a monster eager to tear and devour her own children." [1]

Rule and overthrow of Robespierre.

With the death of Danton, *Robespierre* came into power. Robespierre was a small man, whose views in the early days of revolution had been moderate. His short rule of something over three months was marked by so much bloodshed that the Reign of Terror has ever since been regarded with horror.[2] For several weeks before he was

[1] Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, p. 213.

[2] During the Reign of Terror, however, there were fewer people sent to the guillotine in Paris than were killed on the Union side of the battle

sent to the guillotine, he had four revolutionary tribunals in Paris working overtime trying suspects. His severity aroused all factions against him. In July, 1794, they in turn seized him and demanded his execution. His death really ended the Reign of Terror.

Robespierre

Changed conditions under the Republic.

139. Constructive Work of the Convention. — We must not think that during these months all Frenchmen were as bloodthirsty as the rulers, or all citizens as much in danger as were those factional leaders who were not in power. The ordinary citizen came and went, attending strictly to his own affairs, and refraining from criticism or comment on the government or its leaders. People, especially of the higher classes, were careful to avoid any appearance of aristocracy. Early in the Revolution all titles had been abolished and abandoned. The duke was no longer duke, he was simply Mr. Citizen. The dress of a gentleman was too dangerous a mark for public use; instead of the silk waistcoat, the short clothes of fine cloth, silk stockings, and silver-buckled low shoes, all men wore the loose coat and long trousers which formerly had been the distinguishing clothes of the laborer.

The Convention, however, devoted far more attention

of Gettysburg. Even during the later days of the dictatorship of Robespierre, the number that was executed averaged less than thirty-five per day.

to constructive reforms than to the destruction of its enemies. It adopted a metric system of weights and measures; it helped the peasants (§ 200) to acquire title to their lands. In its later sessions it made arrangements for an educational system, in which a boy could be taught from the lowest grades through the university. It made good progress toward the drawing up of a uniform law code for the country to take the place of the many hundred local systems of law that had been abolished early in the Revolution.

Work of the Convention in building up France.

140. The General European War and the Directory. — As we noted above (§ 136), soon after the death of Louis XVI France found herself at war with practically all Europe.[1] Fortunately a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Lazare *Carnot* (Car-no′) was the man for the emergency. So successful was he that he is known as the "Organizer of Victories." Under his direction large armies of enthusiastic citizen troops were raised. In addition the French armies were almost doubled in size by conscription. They adopted methods of direct attack which were suitable for inexperienced but enthusiastic troops, and their able young generals gradually freed France from all invaders.

Victories of Carnot and the citizen armies.

In 1795 the French assumed the offensive. They defeated the Spaniards on the frontier of the Pyrenees, the Italians in the Alps, and the English, Austrians, and Prussians along the Rhine. Since France no longer desired to overthrow European monarchies, the Prussians[2]

France makes peace with some of her enemies.

[1] The war between England and France influenced the United States because (1) we had a treaty of alliance (1778) with France, and (2) we were the most important neutral country engaged in the carrying trade. Washington soon issued the Proclamation of Neutrality, but our position as neutral carriers of goods caused trouble until the European wars closed at Waterloo (1815).

[2] Prussia gave to France her territories on the west bank of the Rhine, on condition that she receive other territories in central Germany.

and Spaniards [1] deserted their allies and made peace with the Republic. The Dutch Netherlands were organized into the *Ba-ta'vi-an Republic,* which was allied with France. England took advantage of this alliance to seize most of Holland's colonial possessions; Ceylon, South Africa, and some of the East Indies islands became British because of the success of the English fleets.

The old régime in France.

In 1795 also France reorganized her government. She provided for a legislature of two houses and an executive consisting of five directors. We refer to the period during the next four years as that of the *Directory.*

141. Summary. — More than any other continental country, France had become a nation before 1789, yet in France many medieval usages survived. We call this state of affairs the old régime. While the king was despotic and ruled through a royal council and intendants, his authority was limited by local privileges and local systems of law. There were two privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, each of which controlled about a fifth of the land of France. The middle classes, bourgeoisie and more prosperous farmers, were rich but discontented and ambitious. The peasants, burdened by unjust and rather heavy taxes, demanded reforms. Under Louis XV few reforms were made and his successor, Louis XVI, was temperamentally unfit to cope with serious problems. Half-heartedly he upheld his reform ministers, Turgot and Necker, who were opposed vigorously by the court party.

When it was found impossible to make necessary changes in the taxes, a States-General was called in 1789, the first in 175 years. Petitions (*cahiers*) were made out

[1] Spain's withdrawal had important consequences to America, because the Spanish feared that the United States would ally herself with Great Britain. If this had occurred, Spain would have lost some of her American possessions west of the Mississippi. (See Ashley, *American History,* § 23.)

by each locality and order. When the estates met, the third estate, with more than twice as many delegates as the other two, insisted on reorganizing as a single chamber, a national assembly. This revolutionary change was made in spite of the king and the nobility. On July 14 the Bastille was stormed, and, for several weeks afterward, chateaux were taken and records burned throughout France. When news of this reached Paris, August 4, the assembly agreed to give up many privileges. In October, 1789, the scarcity of bread caused a march on Versailles, whence the mob brought to Paris the king and his family. The Constituent Assembly not only agreed upon a declaration of rights and created a limited monarchy for France, but it took over church lands and made the clergy public officials. On the security of the lands assignats were issued. Local officials were chosen by popular vote, and local districts were allowed to govern themselves without much interference from Paris.

The early revolution and the constitution.

The Legislative Assembly (1791–1792) was more radical than the Constituent Assembly, but the third assembly, the Convention (1792–1795) was most radical of all, for the Mountain and the extreme Jacobins soon overpowered the Girondists. The king attempted to flee to his friends in Germany, and when those friends made war on France in his behalf, the Tuileries were sacked and royalist prisoners were massacred. When the foreign invasion was checked at Valmy, a republic was established (September, 1792). Soon after came the proclamation against royalty everywhere and the execution of Louis XVI.

The early republic.

These acts aroused against France the nations of Europe; they also stirred up the enemies of the Convention within France. To terrorize the latter, extreme measures were used by the Committee of Public Safety, the leading member of which was Danton, and the Revolutionary Tribunal. Especially at Nantes and Lyons

The Reign of Terror and the general European War.

were the insurrectionists murdered with extreme brutality. But the Terrorists did not agree among themselves, Danton was driven from power, and under Robespierre the guillotine seemed never idle; yet with Robespierre's death the Reign of Terror ended abruptly. In the meantime the Convention had passed many laws to help business and education, and Carnot had organized citizen armies under young, able commanders that were winning victories for France. In 1795, the year in which the Directory was established, France allied herself with Holland and made peace with Prussia and Spain.

General References

Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, 258–307.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 203–283.

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 360–465.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 395–522.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 1–151.

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period of Europe*, 88–226.

MacLehose, *Last Days of the French Monarchy.*

Mathews, *The French Revolution.*

Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution.*

Fling, *Parallel Source Problems, Book of French Revolution.*

Johnston, *The French Revolution.*

Cambridge Modern History, VIII, "The French Revolution."

Stephens, *The French Revolution*, 2 vols.

Lecroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century.*

Gibbs, *Men and Women of the French Revolution.*

Topics

The Old Régime in France: Mead, *The Grand Tour*, 5–28; Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 3–32; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 31–59; Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 1–51.

Revolutionary Reorganization: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 479–486; Mathews, *The*

French Revolution, 150–165; Bourne, *Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 107–124; Hazen, Modern European History, 86–96.

The Reign of Terror: Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 132–147; Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 129–146; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 128–146.

Studies

1. Privileged and unprivileged. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 12–30.
2. The clergy and their revenues. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 29–37.
3. The Bourgeoisie. Lecroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 60–80.
4. The provincial towns. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 175–185.
5. Taxes of the old régime. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 213–229.
6. Travel in France. Mead, *The Grand Tour*, 32–33, 44–45, 52–61, 78–84.
7. Betrothal and marriage of Marie Antoinette. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 5–31.
8. The Little Trianon. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 74–80, 141–142.
9. The diamond necklace. MacLehose, *Last Days of the French Monarchy*, 272–291.
10. Turgot. Tallentyre, *Friends of Voltaire*, 206–236.
11. Cahiers on social and economic questions. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 359–376.
12. Meeting of States General. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 111–119.
13. Uprising of the masses. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 125–137.
14. The Decrees of August 4 (1789) and the Declaration of Rights. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 404–412.
15. Flight to Varennes. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 221–245.
16. The assembly demolishes privileges. Johnston, *The French Revolution*, 89–104.
17. Political parties of the revolution.
18. Last hours of Louis XVI. Clery, *The Royal Family in Prison*, 171–200.

19. Closing scenes in Life of Marie Antoinette. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 297–325.

20. The first period of general war. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 53–65.

Questions

1. Explain the feudal character of the old régime. Show how the new national spirit of the French people influenced the French Revolution. Name the three principles of the Revolution and explain how each was contrary to the spirit of the old régime.

2. Was there another old régime in central and eastern Europe before the Great War? If so, name at least two proofs of autocratic government, three evidences of special privilege, and several forms of oppression of the people. Have any of these evils been removed yet? In what ways was there lack of uniformity in the governments or laws of France? Explain the organization and the powers of the king, the royal council, and the intendants.

3. Explain the different taxes which were in use before 1789: compare them with those in use in America before the Great War.

4. Name the most important privileges of clergy and nobles. State what the bourgeoisie wanted. In what ways was the peasant unjustly burdened? If better off than his fellows in other countries, why was the French peasant discontented?

5. What characteristics were needed by the French king in the decade before 1789? What reforms were attempted by Turgot and Necker; with what success in each case?

6. How had the States-General been organized before 1614? Was there any good reason for organizing it in the same form in 1789? Why did the third estate insist upon reorganizing it into a national assembly?

7. Trace the different steps in the development of the early Revolution and show the revolutionary character of each of the following: organization of a single chambered national assembly, disorder in Paris and in France, July, 1789, work of the national assembly on the 4th of August, procession to Versailles and return of the king to Paris, the civil constitution of the clergy, substitution of departments for the old provinces, creation of a constitutional monarchy.

8. Who were the emigrés? Describe the attempt of Louis XVI to join the emigrés. What caused the attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792?

9. What were the most important revolutionary groups in France? Who were the Girondists? Who formed the "Mountain?" What was the attitude of the French government in the fall of 1792 toward monarchy and liberalism in the rest of Europe? Why were a committee of public safety and a revolutionary tribunal organized in 1793?

10. Name important causes of the general European war beginning in 1793. Why were there insurrections in Lyons and La Vendée in addition? Describe as fully as possible why the French government adopted a policy of terrorizing its opponents. How long did the Reign of Terror last? Who were the leaders in the movement and how did it finally come to an end?

11. What was the nature and the object of the "law of the maximum"? Have we ever had any similar laws in the United States? If so, when and with what results? What constructive work was done during this period by the French government? Distinguish between the work of the Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the Convention.

12. What methods used by Carnot entitled him to the name "Organizer of Victories"? What were the provisions of the peace treaties made by France with Prussia, Spain, and Holland in 1795? How was the new French government under the Directory organized after 1795?

CHAPTER VII

NAPOLEON

Napoleon becomes Master of France

The Bonapartes. Boyhood of Napoleon.

142. Napoleon Bonaparte. — The history of Europe during the twenty years ending with the battle of Waterloo (1815 A.D.) was to a large extent the history of Napoleon. Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the island of Cor'si-ca in 1769, about the time that Corsica became a part of France. The Bonapartes were a poor but noble family. Especially from his mother, a woman of little education but great force of character, did Napoleon inherit those qualities which afterwards made him famous. Even in boyhood he showed himself passionate and domineering; as he grew older, his egotism and ambition became more pronounced.

Military training and early experience.

At the age of ten Napoleon was sent to a military school in eastern France. His poverty as well as his inability to speak French fluently kept him from making friends, and he did not excel as a scholar, although his work in mathematics was good. His military training included a year in a school at Paris, where he told the officers how to reorganize their system of instruction. Naturally these suggestions from a boy of fifteen did not meet with the full approval of the faculty. Napoleon served as an artillery officer before the Revolution began. As a lieutenant of artillery, he took part in the siege of Tou-lon', and by the proper placing of the siege guns he helped greatly in the capture of the city. Napoleon's prominence, how-

ever, really begins with an insurrection against the Convention in Paris in the fall of 1795. Being placed in charge of the artillery, he protected the Tuileries by firing upon the mob in the streets leading to that building. His promotion in the army was due chiefly, nevertheless,

NAPOLEON

to the influence of one of the directors, a friend of Josephine Beau-har-nais′, whom Napoleon married in 1796.

Succession of victories over Austria.

143. Napoleon's Italian Campaign. — Because of influence rather than recognized ability Napoleon was placed (1796) in charge of the army of the French republic in Italy. His way into Italy was blocked by two armies, one Austrian, the other Sardinian. By rapid marches

through low passes of the mountains near the Mediterranean Sea, Napoleon separated these armies, each of which he defeated in turn. Within a month from the time when he left France, he entered Milan. A few days later the Austrians were beaten again. All of their attempts to drive Napoleon from the Po valley were futile; in fact, in the winter of 1797, Napoleon forced an Austrian army back through the passes of the eastern Alps until he was within a hundred miles of Vienna.[1]

Treaty of Campo Formio (1797).

By the treaty of Campo Formio (1797) France gained the Belgian Netherlands and almost all territory of the Holy Roman Empire on the left or west bank of the Rhine. In exchange for the Netherlands, Austria received Venice.

Plan to strike England through India *via* Egypt.

144. The Egyptian Campaign. — When Napoleon returned to France, he was already the greatest man in the country. Since Holland and Spain were no longer enemies but were practically allied with France (§ 140); and since Prussia had withdrawn from the war and Austria had been compelled to cease fighting, Great Britain was the only real antagonist which France had. In order to strike the British Empire a mortal blow, Napoleon conceived the plan of reaching India by way of Egypt, and the Directory, jealous of his growing fame, gladly furnished an army and a fleet.

Land victories and naval defeat in Egypt.

Napoleon reached Egypt successfully, having avoided an English fleet under Admiral Nelson. Almost under the shadow of the Pyramids he made a bombastic speech to his soldiers. "Forty centuries look down on you," he told them. Here he defeated the Mam'e-lukes, in the *battle of the Pyramids*. But a few days later Nelson cornered the French fleet in A-bou-kir' Bay and destroyed

[1] Austria was ready for peace. Having made an armistice with her, Napoleon then turned against Venice and occupied the city. Part of northern Italy was organized into republics on the model of France.

the ships one by one. This "*battle of the Nile*" cut off Napoleon's connection with France and made the escape of his army almost impossible. A year later Napoleon, having accomplished nothing, left his army, evaded the British cruisers which were watching, and arrived on the south coast of France.

145. Napoleon as First Consul. — Meanwhile the French Directory had not maintained order at home or

Coup d'état of the 18th Brumaire.

An English Cartoon — The Handwriting on the Wall

repelled invasion abroad. In Napoleon's absence there had been organized against France a new coalition which already had gained several victories over the French. The coming of Napoleon to Paris gave hope for the organization of a new government. On November 9 (18th Bru-maire'), 1799, Napoleon and some associates dissolved the old government and created a new one called the consulate. Napoleon was chosen *first consul for ten years*, with extraordinary powers of appointment and government. In 1802 he was made first consul for *life*.

Italian campaign (1800) and Peace of Lunéville (1801).

As the allies (*i.e.* the enemies of France) were most dangerous in Italy, Napoleon advanced to the Alps mountains and crossed the high ranges in five days. By quick marches he surprised the Austrians in the Po valley, and won, after he had almost lost, a battle at Ma-ren'go, 1800. In the Peace of Lu-ne'ville (1801) terms were made with Austria which were almost the same as those of Campo Formio: in this way Austria was forced out of the alliance.

The armed neutrality (1800) and general peace (1802).

In the meantime Russia had difficulties with England because England attempted to control the trade of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea to her own advantage. With Russia was joined Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia in an *armed neutrality*. A forceful protest was made against England's treatment of neutral vessels and trade. When Nelson gained a victory at Copenhagen (1801), this alliance to protect neutral trade was dissolved. At Amiens, March 2, 1802, England and France finally agreed to a truce, the *peace of Amiens* (A-mi-an'), and for more than a year Europe was at peace.

Napoleon in War and Peace (1802–1806)

The French empire (1804).

146. Reconstruction of the French Government. — After 1799 Napoleon, as first consul, had almost sole powers of government. In 1804 he procured a decree of the Senate by which the republic was ended and an empire was established. The Pope was brought to Paris for the coronation in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame, but in order that the Pope might not maintain, as had his predecessors, that emperors were of right crowned by him,[1] Napoleon completed the ceremony by seizing the crown from the Pope's hands and placing it on his own head.

Under the empire more completely than under the

[1] E. E. C., § 525.

consulate Napoleon controlled the appointment of the Senate and the administrative bodies of the central government. He reorganized the police so that under Fou-che′ it was much more efficient than before. He maintained a censorship of the press and suppressed most of the country's newspapers.

Organization and arbitrary rule under the empire.

Napoleon in his Coronation Robes

Napoleon retained the departments and smaller districts which had been organized by the Revolution (§ 130); but he went back to the old régime and revived the office of intendant, under the name of *prefect*, appointing one such officer for each department, with a subprefect in each district. This centralized administrative system is still in use in France. Like their predecessors, the intendants, these officials of the central government had extensive powers. They appointed the mayors of the smaller communes, the mayors of the larger cities being selected by Napoleon. The only really representative governing bodies left were the municipal councils. He believed thoroughly that the French people desired personal and public security rather than political liberty, that they desired the prestige of France rather than even the "liberty, equality, fraternity" of the Revolution. In all this he was undoubtedly right.

Centralized character of local government under Napoleon.

One of the greatest and most lasting *reforms* made by

Napoleon's law codes.

Napoleon was in connection with the law codes which are explained later (§ 168). To this work he called the ablest men of France. To it he gave many of his own evenings, sitting at the table with jurists, asking searching questions, and suggesting short cuts by which the laws were simplified.

Attempt to enlarge the colonial empire of France.

Napoleon not only added to France new lands in Europe (§ 143), but he desired to organize a colonial empire. The most valued of these possessions was the colony of Louisiana, which he had forced the king of Spain to cede to him in 1800. To protect Louisiana from any possible invasion of the English he sent an army to the New World, which was first to subdue Santa Domingo, on the Island of Haiti. Through the influence of an able negro patriot,[1] aided by the swamps of the island, Napoleon's army was destroyed. As he had now no troops for the protection of Louisiana and was ready for another conflict with his arch enemy, Great Britain, Napoleon in 1803 sold Louisiana to the United States.

Church and State in France before 1789.

147. Napoleon and the Church. — As we have already noticed, the Gallic Church had always been very independent in its attitude toward the papacy (§ 20), but all statutes of the old régime fully recognized the importance and the power of the Roman Catholic Church in the country.

Concordat of 1801 between the Pope and Napoleon.

The early Revolution secularized the church lands, brought the clergy under the control of the government, and made the church practically a part of the state (§§ 131, 132). Later in the Revolution even less attention was paid to the ancient rights and privileges of the church (§ 138). Napoleon realized fully that, at heart, the people were both Catholic and religious. For political rather than for religious reasons he desired to reëstablish cordial relations between France and the papacy, and in

[1] Toussaint L'Ouverture.

1801 he made an agreement with Pope Pius VII. The Pope accepted the suppression of the monasteries and the secularization of other church properties. Napoleon was to nominate the bishops, who were to be appointed by the Pope; the bishops in turn were to appoint the priests. Catholicism was recognized as the religion of a majority of the French people. This arrangement lasted with slight changes until 1905 (§ 000).

148. Other Changes. — Napoleon sought to surround himself by an elaborate court similar to that of the well established monarchies. Since most of the Napoleonic nobility were people of comparatively humble origin, he sought among the old nobility for instructors in the proper conduct of court procedure. With difficulty he persuaded the central government, made up chiefly of his own appointees, to create a *legion of honor* composed of those who in Napoleon's opinion had distinguished themselves on the field of battle, in art, science, literature, or other branches of learning.

The new nobility and legion of honor.

Napoleon was much interested in *public works* and improvements. He restored or enlarged many of the old palaces. The magnificent art galleries of the Louvre were enriched with marbles and paintings which were the spoils of his campaigns. From Paris radiated a number of new and important military roads which were useful in his campaigns and were his especial pride. About two hundred other main highways were constructed elsewhere in France, and the improvement of numerous local roads was encouraged. Over the Alps he constructed the Mont Cenis (Se-ni′) road and a highway across the Simplon pass, connecting Paris with modern Italy and Rome. "The network of canals and waterways rendered available for navigation was hardly even outlined in pre-revolutionary France. The works undertaken during the Consulate and partially completed at the close of the

Public buildings, roads, and inland waterways.

empire were planned on a scale so vast and at the same time, with few exceptions, on such practical lines, that they constitute to-day by far the most important portion of the internal navigation of France." [1]

Plans for invasion of England and their failure.

149. Trafalgar and Austerlitz. — The Peace of Amiens, 1802 (§ 145), was recognized as a truce, and within a year war broke out again. The English did not send troops to the Continent; they contented themselves with subsidies granted to their continental allies. It was not until 1805 that Napoleon gathered at Boulogne (Bu-lon′) on the northern coast of France *a grand army for the invasion of England.* As he needed to clear the English channel of British fleets, the French naval officer, Ville-neuve (Vil-nerv′), was ordered to draw Nelson, the English commander, across the Atlantic and to return immediately himself in order to convey Napoleon's army across to England. Villeneuve failed to outwit Nelson, and the latter returned to Europe before the French fleet could do so. Later in the year 1805 Nelson absolutely destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Traf-al-gar′. From that time England had even more absolute control over their seas than before.

Nelson

New successes against Austria (1805).

Napoleon is reported to have expressed a desire for just one admiral who would have done for the French on the sea what he and his marshals were doing continually

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 119, 120.

on the land. When Villeneuve did not get back in time to help him invade England, the conqueror changed his plans and immediately marched his army through upper

Arc de Triomphe.

Germany and into Austria. Near Vienna, on the first anniversary of his coronation as emperor of France, he met the combined armies of Austria and Russia at Aus'ter-itz. The allies tried to overwhelm one of his wings, but,

when he made a sharp attack with most of his columns against the Austro-Russian center, he crushed his opponents without difficulty and won an overwhelming victory.

Treaty of Pressburg (1805).

In the treaty of peace which followed, Austria lost large territories in Italy and in the upper Rhine valley, and the next year she was forced to dissolve the ancient but now unimportant Holy Roman Empire. The emperor had already (1804) assumed the title, "Emperor of Austria."

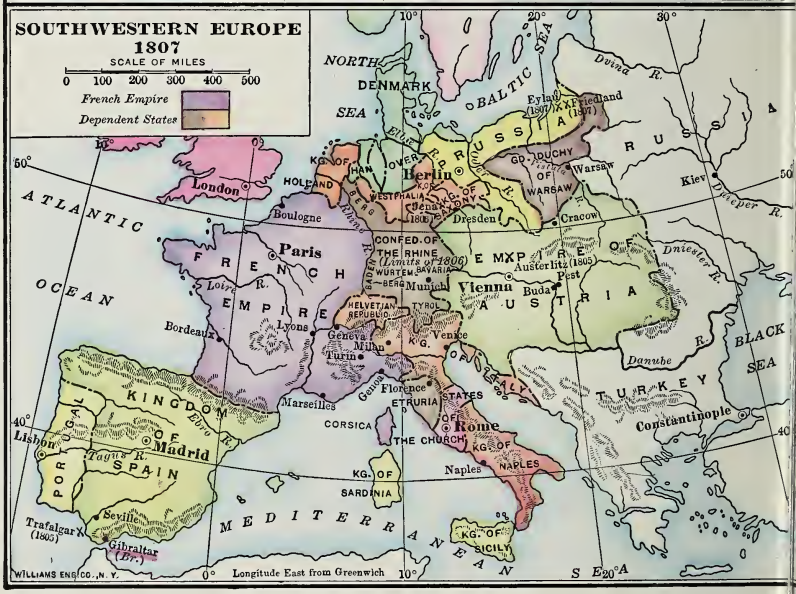
Napoleon baits and defeats Prussia.

150. Supremacy of Napoleon on the Continent. — Prussia had tried valiantly, but vainly, to remain neutral, but in 1806 she was compelled to side either with England or France. After Napoleon had forced her into war, on the same day he made an attack upon the two Prussian armies at Jena (Ye'na) and Au-er-städt'. The Prussian troops were badly organized and stupidly led; that day saw the complete humiliation of the Prussian army and people.

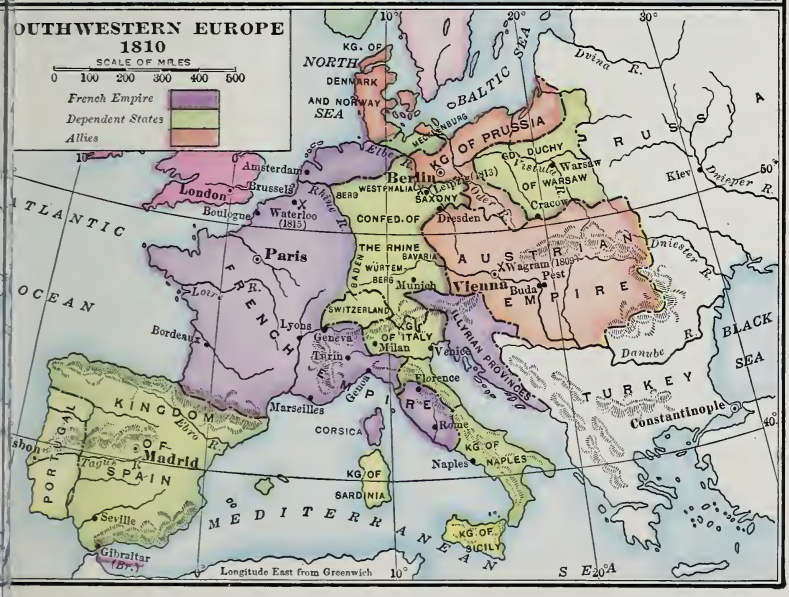
Agreement of France and Russia to divide control of Europe.

Napoleon was now practically supreme in western Europe, but the Russians still gave him trouble. After a series of battles he finally won a complete victory over the Russians at Friedland, 1807. Although the Russians were forced to make peace, Napoleon was generous in order to have their friendship. On a raft in the middle of the river Nie'men, the French emperor and the Tsar Alexander arranged a treaty of friendship, the *Peace of Til'sit*, by which Europe was divided between them. Napoleon agreed that Russia might seize Finland, which was then part of Sweden and should have some Turkish territory in eastern Europe on condition that Russia should agree, if England would not make peace, to exclude from her markets all English-made goods.

SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE
1789
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
First Partition of Poland (1772)
Boundaries of Holy Roman Empire
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIA
To Russia (1772)
Dvina R.
RUSSIA
Berlin
Warsaw
Kiev
Dnieper R.
London
Boulogne
UNITED NETHERLANDS
HANOVER
SAXONY
Dresden
Cracow
PRUSSIA
SILESIA
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
To Austria (1772)
Dniester R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Paris
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Loire R.
Rhine R.
BAVARIA
WURTEMBERG
Munich
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIAN POSSESSIONS
Vienna
Buda
Pest
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
Milan
VENETIAN DOMINIONS
Venice
Turin
Genoa
AVIGNON (To Rome)
Florence
TUSCANY
Marseilles
CORSICA
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
Constantinople
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Madrid
Ebro R.
Rome
STATES OF THE CHURCH
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
Naples
SARDINIA
Seville
Gibraltar (Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude East from Greenwich


SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE
1807
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
French Empire
Dependent States
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
Eylau (1807) Friedland (1807)
RUSSIA
Dvina R.
Berlin
Warsaw
Kiev
Dnieper R.
London
Boulogne
HOLLAND
KG. OF HANOVER
WESTPHALIA
GD. DUCHY OF WARSAW
Dresden
Cracow
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Paris
FRENCH EMPIRE
CONFED. OF THE RHINE (Limits of 1806)
WURTEMBERG
BAVARIA
BERG
Munich
Austerlitz (1805)
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Loire R.
HELVETIA REPUBLIC
TYROL
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
KG. OF ITALY
Milan
Venice
Turin
Genoa
Florence
ETRURIA
Marseilles
CORSICA
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
Constantinople
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Madrid
Ebro R.
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Rome
KG. OF NAPLES
Naples
KG. OF SARDINIA
Trafalgar (1805)
Seville
Gibraltar (Br.)
KG. OF SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
WILLIAMS ENG. CO., N. Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich

SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE
1802
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Final Partitions of Poland (1793-5)
Added to Eastern France (1795-1801)
Republics dependent upon France
Boundaries of Holy Roman Empire
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
Berlin
Warsaw
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Paris
London
Boulogne
Dresden
Munich
Lyons
Bordeaux
Marseilles
Florence
Rome
Naples
Venice
Turin
Constantinople
Madrid
Seville
Gibraltar
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
SAXONY
BAVARIA
Longitude East from Greenwich


SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE
1810
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
French Empire
Dependent States
Allies
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
Berlin
Warsaw
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Paris
London
Amsterdam
Brussels
Boulogne
Waterloo (1815)
Dresden
Munich
Lyons
Geneva
Bordeaux
Marseilles
Florence
Rome
Naples
Milan
Venice
Turin
Constantinople
Madrid
Seville
Gibraltar
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
Longitude East from Greenwich

Triumph and Downfall of Napoleon

151. Napoleon's Continental System. — Since England had complete control of the sea after 1805 and Napoleon had complete control of the western part of the Continent after Austerlitz and Jena, it was not possible for either power to strike a blow at the enemy directly. In consequence, there began a *commercial war* which was waged for a number of years. It involved not only France and England, but most of continental Europe and in addition those neutrals, such as the United States, which had an extensive commerce of carrying trade.

Reasons for commercial warfare.

Believing that the "race of shopkeepers," as he dubbed the English, would be struck in a vital spot if he could cripple their business, Napoleon tried to prevent the sale of English goods in all parts of the Continent. Since the Industrial Revolution (§§ 187–192) made it possible for England to produce large quantities of cheap commodities, this would interfere greatly with her trade. England on the other hand sought to prevent the French and their allies from receiving supplies, particularly foodstuffs, from neutral nations and from the colonies of the West Indies.

Aims of the commercial regulations of France and England.

152. Orders, Decrees, and Embargos. — Napoleon made the first move by closing the ports of Prussia to English ships. England responded by an order in council, in May, 1806, blockading the northern coast of Europe from the Elbe river to Brest. From Berlin, after the battle of Jena, Napoleon issued his famous *Berlin Decree*. For the British Isles he proclaimed a paper blockade, that is, a blockade unsupported by warships and therefore not enforced, and declared that all English merchandise captured on the high seas or found in certain ports on the Continent should be subject to confiscation. These blockades, especially those of Napoleon, were not

Preliminary orders and decrees (1806).

enforced, but English cruisers on the high seas seized neutral ships on the way to forbidden continental ports, and the French did not hesitate to take American vessels which were carrying British exports to the Continent.

Later drastic orders and decrees (1807).

Much more drastic were the proclamations issued the next year. British orders in council, adopted in November, 1807, demanded that all neutral vessels bound for a port of the enemy must first touch at an English port, and pay duty or be liable to confiscation. When Napoleon heard of these orders, he immediately issued his *Milan Decree*, declaring that all ships were forfeited which traded with Great Britain or stopped at an English port on their way to the continent and paid duties. Between the millstones of English greed and French spite neutral commerce was likely to be ground to destruction.

American embargoes (1807–1811).

The Americans did not sit by and watch the destruction of their commerce; immediately Congress passed a general embargo, cutting off all trade between America and foreign countries. Since this did not prove effective, it passed two partial embargoes in order to compel France and England to repeal their orders or decrees.[1]

Napoleon's problems in enforcing the Continental system.

153. The Continental System in Practice. — The economic effects of the continental system we shall study later. We must now notice the effect it had upon the fortunes of Napoleon Bonaparte. He had gained military control of half of the European continent. Through an alliance with Russia at Tilsit (§ 150), he sought to gain *economic or commercial control of the whole Continent.* But it was one thing for Napoleon to defeat the armies of his enemies; it was an entirely different matter to keep them from buying the things they needed or the goods which they could purchase cheaper elsewhere than he could sell them. In his attempt to control the business of Europe, through his commercial warfare against Great

[1] See Ashley, *American History*, §§ 238–241.

Britain, he had undertaken too great a task. He found that the English-made goods were smuggled into every city of northern Europe, even though those goods were taken and burned whenever they were discovered by French spies and officials.

Napoleon Threatening His Shipmaster because He Did Not Build Enough Ships to Run the English Blockade

Opposition of the Dutch.

The Dutch, who at this time were ruled by Napoleon's brother Louis, father of the Emperor Napoleon III (§ 249), especially opposed the continental system because trade with the English was greater than that of any other continental people. Since Louis did not force his subjects to obey Napoleon's laws, Napoleon deposed him and annexed Holland to France.

Evasion of the system even in France.

Farther east, the Hanseatic towns, particularly Hamburg, traded with the English on every possible occasion. But the smuggling was not limited to these foreign merchants. Along the north coast of France an enormous smuggling trade grew up. In fact, Napoleon granted thousands of licenses or permits to shipowners, who were allowed to bring to the Continent certain English-made goods which were needed or desired. In this way the emperor helped to break down the continental system.

Slow progress of the English in the Spanish peninsula.

154. The Peninsular Wars. — Attempts to enforce the continental system led Napoleon into most of the campaigns which he fought between 1807 and 1813. In spite of the close commercial relations which had existed between England and *Portugal* for a hundred years

(§§ 50, 59), he tried to keep the Portuguese from trading with the British Isles. When they refused to obey his orders, Napoleon invaded Spain and Portugal. The differences with the Spanish led to the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in *Spain* and the appointment of Napoleon's brother Joseph to the throne. While Napoleon remained in the field, the French were victorious in the peninsula; but, whenever he left Spain, the English troops, under Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, with their Portuguese and Spanish allies, were almost as uniformly successful. The peninsular campaigns, however, went on for six years before Wellington's troops were able to cross the Pyrenees into France.

Duke of Wellington

Victory over and alliance with Austria.

155. Expansion of the French Empire. — With Napoleon's attention taken up by affairs in the Spanish peninsula, Austria sought, in 1809, to regain her lost provinces. With the marvelous rapidity which marked practically all his campaigns, Napoleon gathered an army, invaded Austria, entered Vienna, and at *Wag'ram*, within sight of the towers of the city, once more defeated the Austrians. Again Austria lost valuable and populous

provinces, for her aged minister advised peace upon any terms, predicting the downfall of Napoleon's empire within a short time. Nevertheless the ancient house of Habsburg welcomed an alliance with the "usurper," and in 1809 Napoleon, who had divorced his first wife Josephine, was married to the Austrian princess Maria Louisa (niece of Marie Antoinette).

The French empire and subject states.

In 1810 the *French empire* was at its height. The empire proper included not only France, but the Netherlands, the northwestern quarter of Italy, and the Illyrian provinces on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Within this area Napoleon was absolute master. In addition, there were numerous countries or leagues under his direct protection and supervision. These included the kingdom of Spain, ruled by Joseph Bonaparte, the kingdoms of Italy and Naples in the Italian peninsula, and the Helvetian republic (Switzerland).

New dependencies and allies.

Since the reorganization of Germany in 1801, Napoleon had been exceedingly liberal to the rulers of the southern German states. In 1806 he organized their principalities and a few others into the *Confederation of the Rhine*, which was under his control and protection, and furnished him troops. This confederation was later enlarged, particularly by the kingdom of West-pha'li-a, at the time that Prussia lost more than half of her territory after the battle of Jena. East of Prussia and north of Austria Napoleon organized out of Polish territories of Prussia the new *Grand Duchy of Warsaw*, which was also under his protection. At this time Napoleon was also allied with Denmark, Norway, and other countries.

Russian grievances against Napoleon.

156. The Russian Campaign (1812). — When Napoleon married an *Austrian* princess, he offended Russia, for he had gone first to that country for a royal wife. Russia was even more deeply concerned with the creation on its borders of a new *Polish kingdom*, even though that king-

dom was called simply the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw." In a sense the alliance between Russia and Napoleon was artificial, but the break between the two was due even more to the *continental system*. The English and the Russians had traded with one another from an early day.[1] Since England produced much cheaper goods than the Russians could make, and much better as well as cheaper than they could be produced by the French or their allies, the Russian people protested. In fact, practically all peoples of northern Europe objected to the continental system, since that system kept them from buying inexpensive cloth, and forced them to pay more than a dollar a pound for coffee and practically deny themselves the use of sugar.

Invasion of Russia and burning of Moscow (1812).

The break did not come, however, until 1812. Napoleon wished to teach his former allies, the Russians, a thorough lesson. Gathering a force of nearly a half million men, Napoleon led the larger number of these soldiers, the *Grand Army*, into Russia. His advance was a disappointment. The Russians refused to offer battle, retiring continually before him until they reached Bor-o-di'no, where Napoleon defeated their army at great cost to himself. A short time afterward he entered the capital, Moscow. The French troops pillaged the city until a fire started, which practically destroyed it and the supplies which it contained.

The terrible retreat from Moscow.

As the peasants in the surrounding country were exceedingly bitter toward Napoleon, it was difficult for him to secure food. The government kept offering terms of peace in order that the French might be kept in Moscow as long as possible. The winter months coming on, Napoleon was finally forced to begin his retreat. He tried to follow a route to the west, but his way was blocked by the Russians. Storm succeeded storm. The French

[1] Cf. E. E. C., § 722.

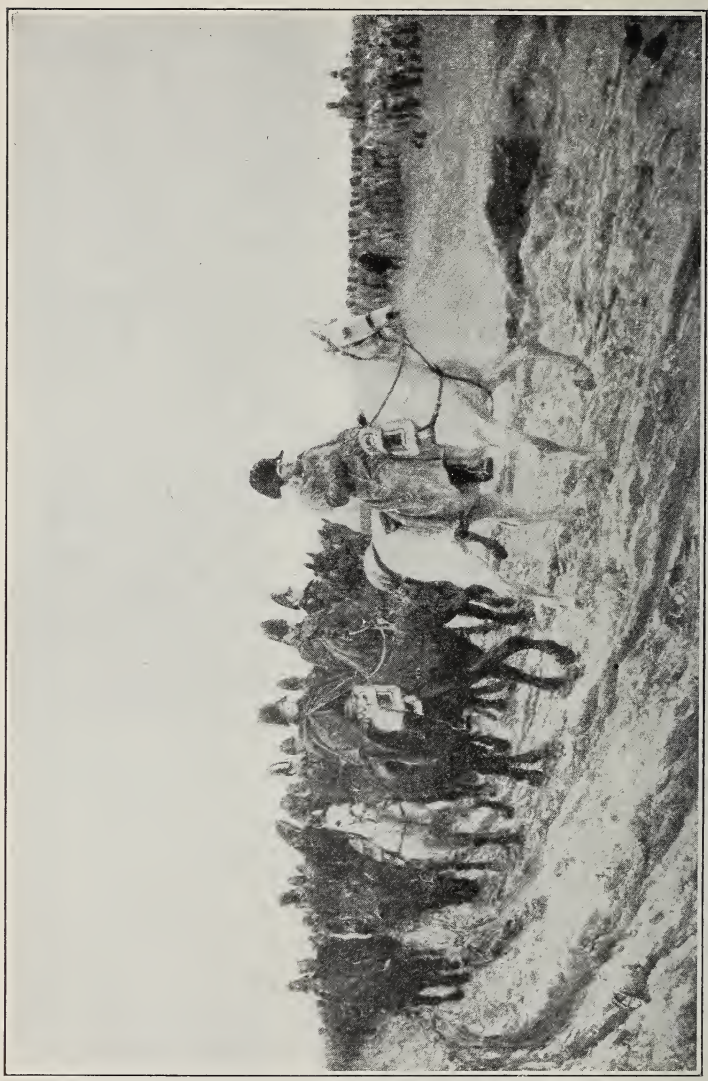
troops were starving. At least a third of their number were captured by the enemy, but even more died from hunger, cold, or other hardships. Of the once vast army, the greatest Europe had seen up to this time, but little was left when, two weeks before Christmas, they reached the Niemen river, the rear guard under Marshal Ney heroically keeping back the enemy.

157. The Overthrow of Napoleon. — It is not strange that the collapse of Napoleon's Russian campaign should have caused every nation in Europe to rise against him; but his star was not yet set. With remarkable skill he raised new levies of troops, this conscription making nearly a million and a half soldiers that had been furnished by France since his accession to power in 1800. Fighting began anew in east Germany, where a "War of Liberation" was preached by Prussia, the national spirit of the German people being fully aroused. At *Leip'zig* in 1813 the "Battle of the Nations" was fought. Nearly three fourths of a million troops were engaged in this three days' contest. Napoleon was beaten but succeeded in withdrawing his army.

The "War of Liberation" (1813).

Gradually Napoleon was forced farther and farther west, until in 1814 three large foreign armies advanced upon Paris from the east and Wellington brought an army from the Spanish peninsula. At no time in his career was the military genius of Napoleon shown more plainly. He seemed everywhere at once, and his attacks had all the fire and skill of his earliest campaigns, but his brilliant minor victories only postponed by days or weeks the inevitable result. Hopelessly outnumbered, he saw the attacking forces close relentlessly around his dwindling army of raw recruits. When, in March, 1814, Paris surrendered to the enemy, the emperor was still in the field, but he was unable to continue the contest. He signed preliminaries of peace and abdicated his throne, and

The French campaigns (1814).



"1814"

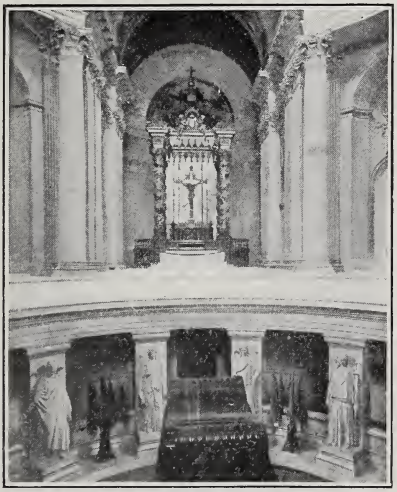
was banished to the little island of *Elba*, off the coast of Italy.

158. The Waterloo Campaign. — Here Napoleon remained several months. Finally, in the spring of 1815, he escaped to France. His arrival was hailed with enthusiasm, and his veterans gathered around him. Once more the great war seemed a reality, but Napoleon's work was done. He advanced into Belgium in order to attack English and other soldiers under Wellington in the north and a German force under Blücher (Blee'ker) in the east. By forced marches Napoleon threw his army between those of his opponents. He first drove back Blücher and then advanced against Wellington, whose army had marched south of Brussels.

The return of Napoleon (1815).

Here, near the village of Waterloo, on the 18th of June, Napoleon fought his last battle. All afternoon he hurled his cavalry and infantry against the steadfast lines of the British troops, but in vain; his ablest leaders could make no impression on that "thin red line." About mid-afternoon he discovered that the Prussians, who, he had supposed, were retreating, were advancing from the east. Crowded in between the two attacking forces, he tried once more to break the British front. Four thousand of his finest soldiers, belonging to the old imperial guard, marched once more

The battle of Waterloo, June 18th, 1815



Tomb of Napoleon

across the bloody field against the position of the enemy. They reached the crest of the hill, only to be mowed down by the deadly infantry fire. In spite of their boast that the "old guard dies, but never surrenders," the survivers either gave themselves up to the British or struggled back to Napoleon's lines. Overwhelmed, almost cut off from escape, the remaining battalions of the emperor sought safety in flight. Napoleon's last battle had become his worst defeat. One day's fighting had given the allies a decisive victory, and Napoleon again abdicated, this time for good. He was sent to the rocky island of St. Helena, in the south Atlantic, where he spent the six remaining years of his life.

Napoleon's victories and rise to power (1796–1802).

159. Summary. — Napoleon, "the Corsican," was trained in military schools and first gained recognition for his skill in the artillery service. In 1796–1797 he gained brilliant victories over numerous Austrian armies in northern Italy. He then tried to strike the English in India through Egypt. Returning to France, he reorganized the government, becoming first consul and later making himself emperor (1804). In the Peace of Lunéville (1801) he gained the west bank of the Rhine and the right to reorganize Germany (§ 162); in the Peace of Amiens (1802) he made a truce with his persistent enemy, Great Britain.

Peace achievements and victories which gave him western continental Europe.

Napoleon now reorganized the French government, strongly centralizing it and bringing it under his control. He forced on the Pope a Concordat, which made it possible for him to speak of his bishops. He constructed roads and planned canals, and he organized systems of law (the Code Napoleon, etc., § 168) and of education (§ 169). Unable to invade England because Nelson destroyed his fleet at Trafalgar (1805), he overwhelmed the Austrians at Austerlitz (1805) and the Prussians at Jena (1806). This gave him control of western Europe.

At Tilsit (1807) he agreed to divide Europe with Tsar Alexander I of Russia.

Napoleon's continental system.

Since England controlled the seas, Napoleon tried to injure her by closing continental ports to her goods. If he could have succeeded in destroying the European market for the cheap goods that she produced because of the Industrial Revolution (Chapter IX), Napoleon would have won. He failed because he could not control western continental Europe even in a military and political way; to keep subject and allied peoples from buying what they needed, or where they could most cheaply, was of course impossible.

Final campaigns and downfall.

The attempt to enforce his continental system brought on the Peninsular wars with Portugal and Spain, which Wellington finally won, and led to the invasion of Russia (1812), where cold and famine destroyed his Grand Army. Defeated at Leipzig (1813), Napoleon withdrew to France, where he was overwhelmed by the combined armies of his enemies. He was banished to Elba, returned, met the allies at Waterloo (1815), was defeated, and was banished to St. Helena. His empire, which had included France to the Rhine, Holland, part of northern Italy, and the Illyrian provinces, besides dependencies of Spain, the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, the Helvetian republic, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was reduced to France with the limits of 1789.[1]

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 523–581.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 152–248.

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 232–285, 301–366, 400–445.

[1] On the disposition of territories in 1815, see the Congress of Vienna (§§ 170, 171).

Fisher, *Napoleon.*
Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 187–335.
Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era.*
Fournier, *Napoleon the First.*
Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography.*
Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 74–407.
Cambridge Modern History, IX, "Napoleon."

Topics

Early Life of Napoleon: Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 1–11; Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, 1–18; Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, I, 1–22; Fisher, *Napoleon*, 7–28.

The Continental System: Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 49–62; Gibbons, *Economic and Industrial Progress in the Nineteenth Century*, 87–100; Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 340–351, 361–366; Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, 520–537.

Trafalgar and Austerlitz: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 187–202; Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 112–129; Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, II, 178–198.

Waterloo: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 387–404; Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 214–237; Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, II, 449–471; Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, 367–386; Hugo, *Les Miserables*, "Waterloo."

Studies

1. First Italian campaign. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 80–100.

2. Coup d'état of 18th Brumaire (1799). Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 59–79.

3. The French codes. Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 163–165.

4. Sale of Louisiana. Adams, *History of the United States*, II, 25–50.

5. Napoleon in peace. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 528–533; Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 155–169.

6. The peninsular wars. Jeffery, *The New Europe*, 105–123.

7. The Russian campaign. Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short History*, 170–187.

8. The Battle of the Nations. Baring-Gould, *Story of Germany.*

9. Napoleon at St. Helena. Rosebery, *Napoleon, The Last Phase*, 164–179.

Questions

1. What personal characteristics of Napoleon fitted him for his wonderful career? Describe in considerable detail his first Italian campaign. Why did he go to Egypt? Explain successes and failures of his Egyptian campaign.

2. What were the important problems of France in 1799? Show how the first consulate solved the internal problems, and Napoleon's successes against Austria, the external. Give provisions of the Peace of Lunéville. Show significance of the armed neutrality and the Peace of Amiens.

3. Show what Napoleon did for France in time of peace. Explain need of more perfect government within France, of new law codes, and explain problems of a French colonial empire and of a state religion. What did Napoleon do for business?

4. Describe the campaigns culminating in the battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz. Show the significance of those two battles and explain the importance of the Peace of Tilsit.

5. Why did Napoleon develop a continental system and what did he expect to do by that? Explain the most important orders, decrees, and embargoes (1806–1807). What difficulties did Napoleon encounter in enforcing his system: from England, from the French, from France's allies, from Americans?

6. On a map point out the territory of the French empire proper, the tributary kingdoms or states, and the countries allied with France.

7. Trace the downfall of Napoleon through the Russian campaign, the German War of Liberation, the campaigns east of Paris, 1814, and the Waterloo campaign.

8. In what respects was Napoleon a great man? What work did Napoleon do for the betterment of the European peoples?

FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

	FRANCE	REST OF CONTINENT	ENGLAND	REST OF WORLD
1789	Revolution			New government in United States (1789)
1791	Constitution			
1792	Republic	Prussia and Austria make first coalition		
1793	General War		William Pitt Prime-Minister (1784–1801)	Proclamation of Neutrality (1793)
1795	First Peace Directory	Spain, Prussia, and Holland make peace		International gains of United States (1795)
1796	Napoleon's Italian campaign			
1797	Peace of Campo Formio	Humiliation of Austria		
1798	Egyptian campaign		Battle of Nile	
1799	Consulate	New coalition		
1800	Italian campaign			
1801	Peace of Lunéville			
1802	Peace of Amiens	Reorganization of Germany	Only peace between 1793 and 1814	
1803	Renewal	of	War	Purchase of Louisiana (1803)
1804		Empire of Austria		
1805	Trafalgar (battle) Austerlitz (battle)		Naval supremacy	
1806	Jena (battle)	Confederation of Rhine	Commercial warfare	
1807	Continental System Peace of Tilsit	Humiliation of Prussia Grand Duchy of Warsaw		Embargo (1807)
1808	Napoleon in Spain	Reforms of Prussia		
1809	Wagram			
1810	Empire at height	Marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louise	Peninsular campaigns	
1812	Russian campaign			War of 1812
1813	Battle of Nations	Last coalition		
1814	Elba	Congress of Vienna German Confederation (1814)		
1815	Waterloo campaign		Overthrow of Napoleon	Peace (1815)

CHAPTER VIII

RECONSTRUCTION AND REACTION (1800–1830)

The Reorganization of Germany

Germany in the Middle Ages.

160. German Disunity Before 1801. — The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was organized by Otto I in 962 A.D.[1] Until the close of its struggle with the papacy about the middle of the thirteenth century, the empire played an important part in the general course of European affairs.[2] After that time it was chiefly a feudal state, loosely organized, whose real rulers were the princes of separate states in the empire. Whoever was Archduke of Austria, the leading member of the house of Habs'burg, was almost invariably chosen emperor.

Germany as a disorganized feudal state; seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

After the Thirty Years' War[3] the empire was little more than a name. As Voltaire wittily stated in the eighteenth century, it was neither holy nor Roman nor imperial. Whereas feudalism as a political force had disappeared from most of the continent of Europe several centuries earlier, and other countries had organized monarchies and had become united, Germany was still a disunited feudal state. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was made up of more than three hundred principalities, of which sixty were free cities, such as Hamburg and Lü'beck. Each of these principalities was self-governing. In addition there were more than two thousand distinct fiefs, occupied by knights or churchmen, which had survived from the Middle Ages.

[1] E. E. C., § 525. [2] E. E. C., §§ 526–533.
[3] E. E. C., §§ 704–707.

Lack of unity and social progress (1800).

Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was of course no uniform law for the whole empire; in each state or principality there had survived many feudal customs. For example, each *local* district had its own laws, as was the case in France before 1789 (§ 113). Serfdom was almost universal throughout the empire, although Joseph II had freed the serfs in Austrian lands (§ 109), and some other rulers had followed his example or had been influenced by the changes in France after 1789.

Modern German ideas contrasted with old German ideas.

161. Old German Culture. — We can see from the preceding section that at least two ideas which we think of as distinctively German must be just as distinctively modern, for they were not found in the Germany of 1800. These two are the idea of *unity* and the idea that everything important is done for the good of the *whole society* rather than for the individual. A century and a half ago these ideas had little place in either the theory or the practice of the German people. To these people *Germany* was little more than a name; to them, as to most other men in western Europe, the rights of man, of the individual, were all-important. This extreme *individualism* finds expression in many ways. It is particularly prominent in their philosophy and their culture.[1] It may account to some slight degree for their preëminence in music.

German philosophy and poetry.

No other period in the history of German culture contains as distinguished names as those of the two great dramatists and poets of this age. *Goethe's* (Gu'te) best known work is of course the drama *Faust.* Schil'ler was somewhat more versatile than Goethe though less

[1] Starting with the ideas which Rousseau had popularized (§ 105), Immanuel *Kant*, the greatest German philosopher, carried farther Rousseau's theory that man should return to nature, for Kant insisted that man should not only be natural but should develop himself the most that he could.

distinguished as a poet. His history of the Thirty Years' War is a valuable study of that period. *Wallenstein* is his best-known drama.

German preëminence in music.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century we find the earliest of the composers [1] for whom Germany has been noted the last two centuries. Of these we need name only two, Mo-zart′ and Bee-tho′ven. The musical debt owed to old Germany includes their *folk songs*, which have given us the tunes of many of our older and more popular songs.

Relation of the old culture to the problem of unifying Germany.

The old German culture was not only a matter of pride to the German people; it was an uplifting influence among other civilized nations. Instead of solving, however, the problem of disunity which we have just considered, and the further problem of reorganization, which we must now take up, these ideas and this old German culture worked against rather than for nationality.

Extinction of all German states west of the Rhine.

162. The Reorganization of Germany after the Peace of Lunéville. — Like most other changes made in Germany between 1625 and 1860, the reorganization of the country was forced upon her from without. By treaties with Prussia and Austria before 1800 France had obtained an indefinite right to the lands on the left or western bank of the Rhine river.[2] By the Peace of Lunéville (1801, § 145) she gained a clear title to all territories west of the Rhine, thus extending her eastern boundaries to the Rhine river. Within this area there were extinguished one hundred and eighteen separate free cities, states, or principalities, which had been members of the Empire. To these princes dispossessed by the French, Austria as the head of the empire was com-

[1] Bach and Haydn.

[2] Treaties with Prussia (1795) (§ 140) and the Peace of Campo Formio (1797) (§ 143).

pelled to promise compensation, that is, other lands east of the Rhine.[1]

Extinction of very many German states east of the Rhine.

In point of fact *the reorganization of Germany was the work of Napoleon* and his secretaries. Most of the knights' lands ceased to be fiefs. The ecclesiastical properties also became integral parts of the states to which they belonged territorially. Beside the one hundred and eighteen principalities west of the Rhine which were destroyed by Napoleon, there were one hundred and sixty others east of the Rhine which lost their separate existence. To his friends, the rulers of the South German states, Napoleon gave additional territories; upon some of them he conferred the title of king.

TALLEYRAND

The struggle for territorial spoils.

In the redivision of lands, "Talleyrand and his confidant Mathieu had no occasion to ask for bribes, or to maneuver for the position of arbiters in Germany. They were overwhelmed with importunities. Solemn diplomatists of the old school toiled up four flights of stairs to the office of the needy secretary, or danced attendance at the parties of the witty minister. They hugged Talleyrand's poodle; they vied with one another in gaining a smile from the child whom he brought up at his house. The shrewder of them fortified

[1] In order to keep the friendship of the new Russian tsar, Alexander I, Napoleon made agreements with Alexander soon after the Peace of Lunéville, by which Russia was to be consulted in the rearrangement of the German states.

their attentions with solid bargains, and made it their principal care not to be out-bidden at the auction. Thus the game was kept up as long as there was a bishopric or a city in the market." [1]

Destruction of states and feudal areas as a preparation for modern united Germany.

163. Later Reorganization (1804–1806). — By this reorganization of Germany the number of states was reduced from more than three hundred to fewer than fifty. Moreover, several of the petty states were now kingdoms under the protection of Napoleon, at this time by far the most powerful ruler of Europe. This destruction of these petty feudal states and fiefs paved the way for the formation of a modern Germany. It was possible for the small number of surviving states to unite, whereas the large number that existed before 1800 could never have been brought together voluntarily into a modern monarchy or republic.

End of the Holy Roman Empire (1806).

Seeing that the Holy Roman Empire had practically been destroyed, the Archduke of Austria proclaimed himself *emperor of Austria*, a title which the ruler of Austria still holds. In 1806 the Holy Roman Empire was formally dissolved by Napoleon.

The Confederation of the Rhine.

In the same year, 1806, Napoleon organized a *Confederation of the Rhine*, which was intended to form a buffer state between France and Austria. The confederation was composed of Bavaria, Wür'tem-berg, Baden, and several other states. The rulers within the Confederation of the Rhine were necessarily loyal to Napoleon and were forced to furnish him with 63,000 soldiers. In this Confederation *many French reforms were introduced.* Serfdom was abolished and everywhere the *Code Napoleon* was put into operation. One of the states protested vigorously that the Code of Napoleon could not possibly meet its needs, but, before the protest was heard, the code was in excellent working order in that territory,

[1] Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 166–167.

and the opposition came to nothing. By the Peace of Tilsit, Napoleon, with the consent of Russia, took away from Prussia all her territories west of the Elbe river. There was organized the *kingdom of Westphalia*, which was given to one of Napoleon's brothers. Westphalia and other states in North-Central Germany were included in the Confederation of the Rhine. To them French ideas and reforms were extended.

Humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon.

164. Prussia after the Defeat by Napoleon. — The loss of her possessions west of the Elbe was not the chief change which Napoleon made in Prussia. Practically all territory which Prussia had gained in the second and third partitions of Poland (§ 65) was organized into the *Grand Duchy of Warsaw*, which was under the protection of Napoleon. Furthermore, within the territories left to Prussia, less than half her former area, the French emperor ruled as a conqueror. He quartered his troops, numbering more than one hundred thousand, in the homes of the Prussian people. In the treaty of peace he demanded not only troops, but an indemnity, the amount of which was to be determined later, and more than a billion francs were undoubtedly taken.

Military reorganization of Prussia after 1807.

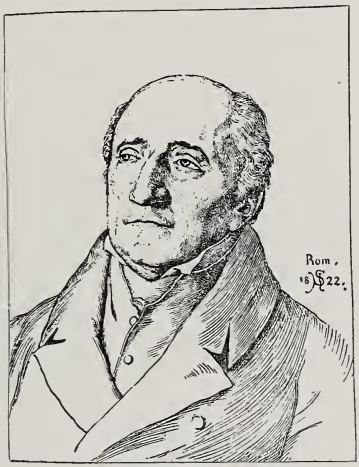
In the days of the early Hohenzollerns the Prussians had been noted for their military prowess. Frederick the Great and his father had the best armies in Europe. Smarting under the failures of 1806 and 1807, they therefore began to reorganize their army.[1] Later, at the

[1] They dismissed practically all of the old commanders. The success of the French under Carnot and of other peoples in later years had shown that citizen armies were infinitely superior to armies of paid mercenaries. At the command of Napoleon 42,000 citizens were trained each year, presumably for Napoleon's use, really for Prussia. At the end of a year these men were retired or placed in the reserves, their places being taken by new recruits. In consequence, when Prussia finally made war on Napoleon, she had an army of more than one hundred fifty thousand men who had had military training, some of whom had seen actual service in war.

time of the " War of Liberation " the Prussians made use for the first time of universal military *conscription*, a system which is in use practically everywhere on the continent of Europe at the present time.

Work of Stein in making reforms and uniting Germany.

The years after 1807 brought other epoch-making changes to Prussia. Among these were new universities and schools (§ 169), and a reorganization of municipal government.[1] Since serfdom had been abolished in her former western possessions, now the kingdom of Westphalia, and in her former eastern territories, now the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia was forced in self-defense to abolish serfdom within her own boundaries (§ 201). The abolition of serfdom and the beginning of other social reforms were due in part to the enthusiasm and farsightedness of Prussia's minister, *Baron vom Stein*. Stein was a great statesman ; more than any other man in German public life, he was responsible for the regeneration of *Germany*. He preached a united Germany and for it he worked unceasingly. His idea is expressed best in his own words:



STEIN

[1] In the new central government little share was given to the people, but burghers were allowed to select the municipal councils. Although this did not apply to the smaller villages, for the smaller villages were still too much dominated by the nobles, it is in a real sense the beginning of the municipal government which has been so distinguishing a characteristic of Germany in the last half century (§§ 000–000). We can see from this summary that prolonged wars are likely to bring revolutionary changes to a naturally ultra-conservative country like Prussia.

"I have but one fatherland, which is called Germany . . . with my whole heart I am devoted to it, and not to any of its parts."

Form of the Confederation from 1815 to 1866.

165. The German Confederation. — In 1815, after the overthrow of Napoleon, Germany was organized into a Confederation. There were thirty-eight states, of which two, Austria and Prussia, were far more important than others. The presidency of the Confederation was vested perpetually in the ruler of Austria. In addition there were four smaller kingdoms: Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover. Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck were the only three left of the sixty free cities of the eighteenth century. The affairs of the Confederation were controlled by a diet which met at Frankfort. This body, however, was about as inefficient as the American Congress under the Confederation, following our Revolutionary War. This German Confederation managed, or, more truly, mismanaged the affairs of the German people until it was destroyed by Prussia in 1866.

The Reconstruction of Europe (1789–1815)

The old régime and the problem of modernization.

166. The Modernization of Western Europe. — Even in the last half of the eighteenth century continental Europe was in many respects still medieval; in fact in many countries the old régime was a combination of medievalism and absolutism. We have noticed (§§ 107–109) that the benevolent despots tried to introduce some reforms in their own dominions. There were two serious limitations, however, on their work: they did not go below the surface and they undertook only those reforms which appealed to their egotism and pride. Nowhere did men gain more political rights; nowhere were real liberty and equality granted.[1]

[1] In France, before 1789, less had been attempted than in Austria and Prussia.

The French Revolution asserted that sovereignty rests with the people of a nation rather than with their monarch. But this new idea of the sovereignty of the people attacked the very foundations of absolute monarchy, and the idea that the people of any country formed a nation was denied by the local privileges of the provinces and by the local patriotism of the people. The revolutionists also proclaimed three principles which were not medieval. These were "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." With these revolutionary ideas the old régime had nothing in common. Liberty was meaningless as long as half of the common people were still serfs. Equality threatened the privileges of the church, the nobility, and even of the merchant class. With all its power, therefore, the old order resisted the attacks of these new ideas when the French people, as a *nation*, demanded personal freedom, equal rights before the law, and at least some share in their own government.

The principles through which Europe was modernized.

With typical French enthusiasm the old order was swept away in France early in the course of the Revolution. But a country cannot be organized and governed by *ideas*, as we find when we compare our own laws and institutions with our Declaration of Independence. It required the organizing ability of Napoleon to give France a strong government that should be modern, though despotic. Wherever Napoleon went he carried the ideas of the new order. By imitation, or to check the career of the French emperor, other countries abolished serfdom, or introduced better laws. However, only those lands which were under French influence or control for at least a decade retained the changes which were introduced under the rule of Napoleon; later, the others either forgot or neglected or rejected the new ideas.

The work of the Revolution.

167. The Development of Nationality. — A nation may be defined as a group of sovereign people, living

Early beginnings and slow growth of nationality.

within a definite area under a single government, who have common ideas in regard to all important public interests or policies. Even in the Middle Ages the English and the French people were becoming nations. Elsewhere in Europe the development of nationality was much slower. Even in *France* the people of the country did not wake up to the fact that they formed a nation until the last part of the eighteenth century. The development of French nationality was also retarded by the systems of local laws and special privileges in different provinces and communities (§§ 3, 113).

Difficulties in forming nations; the problem of Italy.

In other countries of the Continent, the number of different laws, customs, and organizations before 1789 was even greater than in France. Only one, Spain, had a strongly centralized government. Consequently, it was more difficult for the people of these other lands to understand what a nation was, and to organize themselves into nations. In *Italy*, to be sure, Napoleon appealed directly to the national spirit of the Italian race. Although Italy was never united under Napoleon, Napoleon did create a "Kingdom of Italy," [1] and the enthusiastic Italian liberals looked forward to the time when there should be a single, united kingdom of Italy comprising the whole Italian peninsula.

How Napoleon's conquests aroused the national spirit of Spain and Germany.

The spirit of Spanish nationality was really aroused for the first time when Napoleon conquered *Spain* in 1808 and placed his brother Joseph on the throne. For the first time in history the Spanish people were really united, and they were united to throw off the yoke of their conqueror. The patriotic opposition of the Spaniards to Napoleon undoubtedly influenced the people of *Germany*, whose leaders urged Germans to unite [2] and overthrow the rule of the French emperor.

[1] This included only a *part* of *northern* Italy.

[2] As early as 1806 Fichte (Fik'te) had delivered a series of "Patriotic

168. The Code Napoleon. — In the opening years of the nineteenth century, a new era began in the legal and educational system of western Europe. Frederick the Great had reduced the old laws of Prussia to a code,[1] but elsewhere the laws were old, unsatisfactory, and incomplete, as well as local and unjust. After France had abolished the old local systems of law (§ 130), of which she had several hundred, and had abolished also the privileges and inequalities of the old régime, it was possible to have uniform national laws and law codes that would be worthy of a great and modern nation.

Before 1800 European countries had many local, antiquated systems of laws.

A beginning was made before the time of Napoleon, but the great civil code of 1804, known as the Code Napoleon, gave France her first modern code of laws. This work was completed under Napoleon's direction in four months.[2] It was copied by other nations and is now the basis of the civil law in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and some of the southern and western German states (§ 163). French codes for criminal and commercial law were added later. It may be said that "the codes preserve . . . civil equality, religious toleration, the emancipation of land, public trial, the jury of judgment."

The law codes gave many countries new national and modern systems of law.

169. Education. — Education at public expense was one of the ideas of the French Revolution (§ 139), but the revolutionary statesmen were never able to carry their plans into effect. It was left for Napoleon to devise and establish a system of public schools from the primary grades to higher institutions of learning.

The beginning of a system of education under Napoleon.

Addresses to the German Nation." Stein and other statesmen, philosophers, and poets also preached a united Germany.

[1] Cf. Austria, § 109.

[2] German critics sneered at work done so hastily and superficially. In fact, the code was defective in many particulars, but its principles and its existence (as an example to other countries) were of great importance to Europe in this period of change.

Napoleon's scheme for France and its incomplete introduction.

Napoleon divided the schools into several classes: the primary or elementary, the secondary or grammar, and the lycées or high schools. He aimed to carry out the plans of the Convention and have lower schools in each community and high schools in all large towns. He *organized the entire system of schools* into the University of France, centralizing it and bringing it under government supervision. At the close of his career, however, Napoleon found that the students in private schools outnumbered those in his recently established state institutions.

New interest of Prussia in education.

Not only France but *Prussia* and other countries improved their systems of education during this period. In spite of the heavy taxes levied on them by Napoleon, the Prussians made generous contributions for the new University of Berlin.

The education of the people to the need of still further reform.

From this brief summary we can gain some slight idea of the influence that the French Revolution and Napoleon exerted on modern Europe. Before 1789 western and central Europe had in a half-hearted way sought to reform the old régime. In France it was absolutely destroyed and a new order of things was established. Elsewhere the people began to realize that the old régime should be abolished or greatly modified. They did not modify it greatly, but they were learning. As is the case with all true education, the process was necessarily a slow one. As the peoples learned, they demanded the complete reform of the old abuses. After a time, if the old privileges remained and the new rights were not granted, they would rise in their might and wrest them from their rulers or other oppressors.

Reaction and Intervention (1815–1830)

170. The Congress of Vienna (1815). — After the overthrow of Napoleon (§ 157), it was necessary to rearrange the map of Europe. To do this diplomats of the great

EUROPE
AFTER THE
CONGRESS OF VIENNA
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
20°
10°
0°
50°
40°
10°
0°
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Mediterranean Sea
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Scotland
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Belfast
Ireland
Newcastle
Liverpool
Dublin
Manchester
Cork
Birmingham
England
London
Southampton
Dover
Bergen
HELIGOLAND
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Scheldt R.
Caldis
Brussels
Cologne
Frankfort
LUXEMBURG
Havre
Rouen
Brest
CHANNEL Is.
Seine R.
Paris
Orleans
Loire R.
Strasburg
Nantes
FRANCE
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Geneva
Lyons
Saone R.
Rhone R.
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Turin
Toulouse
Pyrenees Mts.
ANDORRA
Marseilles
Oporto
Duero R.
Ebro R.
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Madrid
Lisbon
Tayus R.
Barcelona
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Guadiana R.
Valencia
BALEARIC Is.
Guadalquivir R.
Seville
Granada
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Melilla
MOROCCO
Algiers
ALGERIA

Petrograd
Stockholm
ALAND IS.
DAGO
OESEL
Riga
Moscow
GOTHLAND
ÖLAND
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
Dvina R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Copenhagen
Niemen R.
Königsberg
PRUSSIA
Danzig
RÜGEN
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
Berlin
Thorn
Posen
Pripet R.
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
Ukraine
Oder R.
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
SAXONY
Cracow
Lemberg
Galicia
Bohemia
Carpathian Mts.
Moravia
Bessarabia
Pruth R.
Moldavia
BAVARIA
Austria
Danube R.
Munich
Vienna
Pressburg
Buda Pest
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Hungary
Transylvania
Crimea
Tyrol
Maros R.
Laibach
Drave R.
Slavonia
Banat
Wallachia
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
Venice
Save R.
Belgrade
Danube R.
Bosnia
Serbia
ADRIATIC SEA
Florence
STATES OF THE CHURCH
TUSCANY
ELBA
Montenegro
Sofia
Balkan Mts.
Adrianople
Constantinople
Cattaro
Albania
Salonica
Tiber R.
Rome
Naples
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Janina
CORFU
IONIAN ISLANDS
Athens
Morea
Palermo
SICILY
CRETE
MALTA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
10°
20°
30°
40°
50°
WILLIAMS ENG.CO., N.Y.

powers met in Vienna in 1814 and were entertained for months in a round of balls and banquets. They followed eighteenth-century methods and ideals. They forgot that the national spirit of most of the peoples of Europe had been aroused. They forgot that these peoples wanted constitutional governments instead of absolute rulers. They forgot that an economic revolution was beginning to turn the former serf into a workman and an artisan. They forgot everything except that the great rulers of Europe must be cared for, and that each ruler must have at least as much territory and as many subjects as he had before the terrible French Revolution.

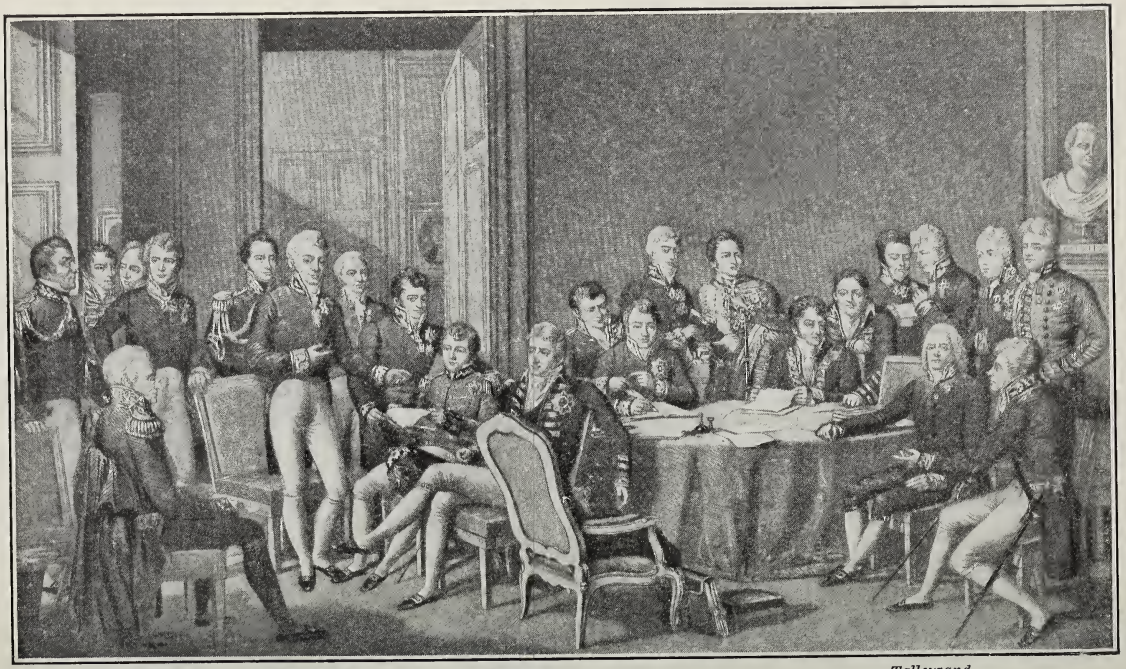
Desire of the Congress to protect the great rulers.

The " Congress " of Vienna was simply an unorganized gathering of diplomats from the different European countries, for *no session of all the representatives was ever held.* They insisted on restoring all legitimate rights and territories, but they ended by grasping whatever new lands and powers they could find reason for keeping or seizing. There was great difference of opinion about the settlement of conflicting claims. Russia and Prussia, determined to have their full share, were opposed by Austria and England. Talleyrand, the most skillful and unscrupulous diplomat of his time, not even excepting Met'ter-nich, played off these opponents against each other and made the place of France secure in the conferences. The reappearance of Napoleon, and the Waterloo campaign, caused the former allies to forget their differences and agree upon compromises (June, 1815).

Problems of the Congress.

171. Territorial Changes (1814–1815). — The chief controversies in the Congress of Vienna were over the disposal of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and over the territories in Germany ruled by kings or princes friendly to Napoleon. In the final arrangement Russia gained the chief advantages, inasmuch as she acquired title not only to Finland, which had been conquered during the

Russia gains in Finland and Poland.



Wellington *Hardenberg* *Metternich* *Castlereagh* *Talleyrand*

CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Napoleonic wars, but also to most of the *Grand Duchy of Warsaw*. This Polish territory was organized as a semi-separate kingdom under the tsar of Russia, but with a separate constitution of its own. Its location brought Russia into far closer relations than formerly with Prussia on the west and Austria on the south.

The problem of compensation of Prussia for lost Polish territories.

Prussia was anxious to secure in exchange for her former Polish territories the whole of the *kingdom of Saxony*, whose king had been a steadfast ally of Napoleon's. This arrangement was opposed by Austria, which feared the further extension of Prussia southward, and by Talleyrand, who believed that Saxony should be retained as a kingdom. Instead, Prussia was compensated by Posen, by the northern two fifths of Saxony, by Westphalia, and by territories on the west bank of the Rhine. These territorial arrangements left Prussia with widely scattered possessions, but it made her a more distinctively German power than ever before, and it gave her Rhine provinces which made her the natural defender of Germany against her old enemy, France, certainly an unwise arrangement for Talleyrand's native land.

Other territorial changes.

In return for the Belgian Netherlands, which were united with Holland under the house of Orange, *Austria* acquired Venetia, Lombardy, and the Illyrian provinces. In addition, Habsburg princes occupied the thrones of several Italian states. Norway was taken from Denmark and given to *Sweden*, which transferred part of Pomerania to Prussia, and thus lost her last possessions in Germany. *France* had about the same territory as in 1789, but *Great Britain* kept Helgoland, Malta, Cape Colony, Ceylon, and part of Guiana, which had been seized by her during the great wars.

172. The Restoration in Europe (1815). — In the states of western continental Europe after 1815 the powers of the monarchs were limited by constitutions, although

Unimportance of the new constitutional governments.

the people had no real share in the government. In Spain, for example, the constitution of 1812, granted during the troublous Peninsular wars (§ 154), was discarded at once, and a policy was introduced of interfering with the freedom of the press and of religion, and of suppressing the liberals, that is, those who believed in constitutional government.

The restoration in France.

In *France* the Bonapartist adherents were hunted out and in some cases shot; Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," was one of the victims of this vengeance. For a time, however, the liberals gained control of the government, until the ultra-royalists, taking alarm once more, suppressed liberalism entirely. They tried to destroy freedom of the press, and they voted a billion francs as compensation to nobles for lands which had been confiscated during the days of the Revolution.

The German Confederation. The Restoration in Austria.

Germany was reorganized, a confederation of 38 states under the leadership of Austria (§ 165) taking the place of the Holy Roman Empire whose existence Napoleon had brought to a close. In some of the petty German states the princes tried to reëstablish courts and inequalities such as existed under the old régime. *Austria* established her old system of police interference, with "improvements" copied from the methods of Napoleon's able chief of police, Fouché (§ 146).[1] The privileges of the nobles and the oppression of the peasants were as characteristic of the "Restoration" as of the old régime.

173. Metternich and the Holy Alliance. — After 1815 the allies that had beaten Napoleon in the great campaigns still kept watch over France and over Europe.

[1] "The head of this department boasted that he had 'perfected' the system of Fouché, an achievement similar to that of painting the lily. Censorship was applied to theaters, newspapers, books. . . . Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions. Particularly did this government fear the universities, because it feared ideas." Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, p. 27.

The Holy Alliance opposes republicanism in Europe.

As they feared the outbreak of either a revolutionary or a Bonapartist movement in France, an army of occupation was kept in that country. In 1818 the allies held a conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, the old capital of Charlemagne, for the purpose of deciding whether the army of occupation should be withdrawn from France. Strictly speaking, this was still the Grand Alliance of Napoleon's time, but, practically, it was identified with a new Holy Alliance.[1] At Aix-la-Chapelle France was admitted to the allied conference, and the powers accepted the policy of *Metternich*, the great Austrian minister, of maintaining the established order of things against republicanism and revolution.

METTERNICH

The Carlsbad decrees (1819).

The policy of the Holy Alliance is illustrated by the methods adopted by Metternich in Germany. A gathering of members of a society that had branches in many universities had burned some writings that denounced liberalism. A year later a Russian, who had been a liberal and had turned reactionist, was murdered by a German student. Metternich now had no difficulty in securing the support of the king of Prussia and the tsar

[1] The Holy Alliance had been proposed by Alexander I of Russia in 1815. It was a personal alliance of the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia to promote religion, peace and order. Other princes were asked to join the Alliance.

of Russia for his policy of suppressing liberalism everywhere. A meeting of representatives from the larger German states was held in 1819, at Carlsbad, and resolutions were adopted which are called the *Carlsbad Decrees*. These decrees aimed to prevent the teaching of liberal ideas in the universities and in other ways to suppress the liberals. They represented the attitude of Metternich toward liberalism, and Metternich's attitude became that of the Alliance for several years.

Constitutions in Spain, Naples, and "Sardinia."

174. Revolution and Intervention. — The policy of suppression soon led to protest in several countries. It happened that the kingdoms of Spain and Naples were ruled by monarchs of the same name, Ferdinand, each of whom gave his country a rule that was disgraceful. Many of the American colonies of Spain declared themselves independent, and in 1820 revolutions broke out in both these countries, and the Ferdinands were forced to grant to their subjects constitutions which were like the old Spanish constitution of 1812. The next year the people of the kingdom of Sardinia[1] gained for themselves a similar consideration.

Metternich was both alarmed and pleased: alarmed because he saw that other peoples would revolt against the arbitrary rule of their monarchs unless these revolutions were suppressed; pleased because he could now turn to the Alliance and demand that it should *intervene* in order to put down the revolutions. A series of congresses[2] was held by the Alliance. Austria was authorized to send her troops, first to Naples and then to the kingdom of Sardinia, for Italy was under Austria's special care. Later, France was asked to send an army to restore the

[1] Although the kingdom of Sardinia takes its name from the island of Sardinia, it really was the kingdom of Piedmont in northwestern Italy. Compare with the names Prussia and Brandenburg (§ 66).

[2] Congresses were held at Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822).

Spanish Ferdinand to his throne, a task which she found easy.

Interest of the colonies and England in their dependence.

175. The Spanish-American Colonies and the Monroe Doctrine. — England had protested when the Powers intervened in Italy and Spain. When they decided that France might help Spain reconquer her rebellious American colonies, she did more than protest, as we shall see. During the years that Napoleon had tried to rule Spain (1808–1814) (§ 154) these colonies had had a taste of freedom, and during that interval they had selected some of their own rulers and had *enjoyed free trade* with other countries, especially England. England needed markets, because she had cheap goods to sell (§ 194) and was at this time being shut out of a large part of the Continent by Napoleon's continental system (§ 151). After the battle of Waterloo the Spanish colonies in America resented more than ever the arbitrary and unjust rule of Spain and therefore took the first occasion to rebel.

Canning

England proposes to United States joint protest against intervention by the Holy Alliance.

In 1820 England was as anxious to have the people of Latin-America for customers as she had been in 1808. She therefore gave the Powers to understand that although Spain might reconquer her colonies if she could, no outsiders might help her do it. Her foreign minister, Canning, proposed to the United States that this country join her in a protest against the intervention of the Alliance in the Spanish colonies. As the

United States did not wish to do anything that would lead to an "entangling alliance" with any European country, the offer was declined.

The Monroe Doctrine (1823).

When, however, Congress met some months later (December, 1823), President Monroe transmitted his famous message containing the statements which we now call *the original Monroe Doctrine.* He declared that we had never taken part in purely European affairs and that Europe should not interfere in purely American affairs. He insisted that America was no longer open to further European colonization,[1] and stated, that any attempt on the part of the Alliance to suppress republicanism in the Spanish-American republics, some of which we had already recognized as independent, would be considered an unfriendly act toward the United States.

End of intervention for the suppression of national rule.

176. The Independence of Greece. — The plans of the Alliance to suppress all people who tried to gain independence were checked when they decided to leave the Spanish-American colonies alone. But America was a long way from Europe, so that the failure to reconquer the colonies for Spain did not matter greatly. Events in Greece finally put an end to all ideas which the Alliance had of intervening in other countries to uphold the rights of the reigning monarchs.

Revolt of Greece against Turkey.

Greece had revolted against the cruel rule of the Ottoman Turks, not only because the Turkish rule was bad, but because the Greeks had a different religion and wanted to govern themselves. The revolt did not succeed, but dragged on because the Greeks kept up guerrilla fighting in the hills, with which the country abounds.

The people of Europe sympathized strongly with the revolutionists, for Greece has a glorious history, and in

[1] This statement was inserted because Russia had been attempting to extend the boundaries of her colony of Alaska south along the Pacific coast.

1827 the Powers sent warships to compel the governor of Egypt, who had come to the support of the Turkish Sultan, to withdraw his forces. The Powers did not wish to intervene in Greece, either for the Greeks or for the Turks. However, the fleet of the allies became involved in a battle (Na-va-ri'no, 1827) with the fleet of the governor of Egypt, and the Egyptian fleet was destroyed. The Powers at once sent troops to Greece, and Turkey was obliged to give Greece her independence (1829). After the allies had intervened for the independence of a people, Metternich's system of *intervention for suppression of liberalism* was not worth much.

The allies help Greece gain her independence.

177. Summary. — In 1800 Germany was the most disunited country of Europe. There were more than 300 autonomous principalities or cities in addition to about 1400 independent noblemen or prelates. Old German culture, noted for its philosophy (Kant), its literature (Goethe and Schiller), and its music (Wagner and Beethoven), made the people content with their achievements and indifferent to political unity. Napoleon at Lunéville after 1801 not only took away from the tiny feudal or ecclesiastical territories the right to govern themselves, but also extinguished the sovereign or governing rights of nearly 300 states or cities, 118 of which on the west bank of the Rhine were absorbed by France. Napoleon also dissolved the Holy Roman Empire (1806), organized the Confederation of the Rhine, and modernized western Germany by many reforms. When he took away half of Prussia's lands and humiliated her in other ways he caused her to reorganize her army and military system and abolish serfdom. After Napoleon's overthrow in 1815, a German Confederation of 38 states was organized.

The reorganization of Germany.

Before 1789 the old régime was in full force in western continental Europe, for the reforms of the benevolent despots had not gone below the surface. With the in-

The reconstruction of Europe.

REACTION AFTER 1815

GENERAL	FRANCE	SPAIN	ITALY	MISCELLANEOUS
Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815.	Bourbons with charter.			Kingdom of Poland.
Holy Alliance.	Reaction.	Ferdinand VII.	Austria dominant.	German Confederation.
Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.		Reaction.	Reaction.	Wartburg Festival, 1817.
Rulers agreed to suppress revolution, 1820.	Liberalism.	Revolution of 1820.	Carbonari.	Carlsbad Resolutions, 1819.
Congress of Troppau.		Revolution in colonies.	Revolutions of 1820–1821.	Revolt of Spanish colonies in America, 1820.
Congress of Laibach, 1821.				Received as independent by England and U. S.
Intervention.				
Congress of Verona, 1822.		Fr. Army, 1822, puts down revolution.	Spanish Constitution of 1812.	
	Ultra-reaction. 1824–30, Charles X.			Monroe Doctrine, 1823.
Greek Revolt, 1827.				
Navarino.				
Greek Independence, 1829.	July Ordinances.			
	Revolution of 1830.			Belgian revolt and dependence, 1830.
End of intervention by Holy Alliance.	Louis Philippe, (1830–1848).			Revolution and subjection in Poland, 1830–1831.
				England: Reform Act of 1832.

troduction of the French idea that the nation is sovereign, and the revolutionary principles of "liberty, equality, fraternity," carried by Napoleon's armies, the old régime was doomed. Only the French realized in 1789 that they formed a nation, but the Italians soon interested themselves in that idea, and Napoleon's conquests and insults aroused the national spirit of Spain and of Germany. Among reforms carried by Napoleon beyond the borders of France were a new system of education and the organization of law codes based upon the model of the Code Napoleon.

Reaction and intervention (1815–1830).

Western Europe was not ready for such abrupt, radical changes; as soon as Napoleon was overthrown (1815) its old rulers began to restore their old boundaries, their former methods, and their old rights. They suspended constitutions forced from them in Napoleon's time. They suppressed, by the use of "third degree" methods, free speech, democratic movements, and conspiracies against their tyranny. By the Carlsbad Decrees in Germany, and by decisions of conferences of the important Powers, organized into a grand alliance (Holy Alliance) and guided by Metternich, they intervened everywhere in Europe to suppress insurrection and liberalism. They wanted also to regain for Spain the Spanish colonies in America, but refrained from doing so when England protested and the United States announced the Monroe Doctrine (1823). When the western countries helped Greece to gain her independence from Turkey (1829), Metternich's scheme of intervention lost all its force.

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 1–62.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, 249–279.
Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 92–203.
Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 166–173, 240–246, 368–602.

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 267–300, 317–339, 367–413.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 86–257.

Topics

Reorganization of Germany: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 167–173, 240–246; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 103–112; Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 225–227, 257–261; Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 292–300.

Congress of Vienna: Hazen, *Modern European History*, 249–257; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 5–14; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 90–102.

The Holy Alliance and the Reactionary Congresses: Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 747–759; Jeffrey, *The New Europe*, 180–195; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 117–125; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 408–411, 478–513; *Cambridge Modern History*, X, 1–39.

Studies

1. Germany in 1789. Stevens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 33–40.

2. Work of the Revolution, Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 121–135.

3. Significance of the era of Napoleon. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 573–576.

4. The restoration in France. Hazen, *Modern European History*, 270–276.

5. The reaction in Germany. Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*, 1–22.

6. The reaction in Spain and Portugal. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 20–28.

7. Canning and his policies. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 517–524.

8. The independence of Greece. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 47–50.

Questions

1. Explain the following conditions in Germany before the nineteenth century: political disunity, lack of social development, German ideas and philosophy, German literature and music.

2. What was the nature and the extent of German reorganization after the Peace of Lunéville? What was the significance of reorganization at that time, of the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire, and of the formation of a Confederation of the Rhine?

3. Compare the territory of Prussia before 1806 and after 1807. Describe the new military policy of the Prussians and compare it with that used by them to-day. What great work for Prussia and Germany was accomplished by Baron Stein? How was the German Confederation organized after 1815? Compare it with the United States under the Confederation.

4. Name the three great principles of the French Revolution and show specifically how each affected the old régime. Define the term *nation*. To what extent had nations been formed before 1789? The national spirit of what peoples was aroused by Napoleon? (Explain in what way in each case.) In what countries is the law at present based upon the Code Napoleon? What was done for education during this period?

5. Explain the problem of the Congress of Vienna. Describe in detail the territorial changes, showing particularly what Russia, Prussia, and Austria lost or gained by the shifts.

6. What is meant by the restoration? by the reaction after 1815? What was the nature of the restoration in general in Europe; in France, Germany, Austria, and Spain in particular? What was the Grand Alliance? What was the Holy Alliance? Why do people usually speak of either after 1818 as the Holy Alliance?

7. What were the Carlsbad Decrees? What was the effect of the Revolution of 1820? What policy was used by the Powers of Europe? Name at least two general congresses and show what liberal movements were suppressed by each.

8. Give some idea of the history of the Spanish colonies before 1808. Why were they half free from 1808 to 1814? When they revolted about 1820, what was the attitude toward them taken: (*a*) by the Holy Alliance; (*b*) by England; (*c*) by the United States? Name three important principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

9. What was the extent of Turkish territory in Europe in 1700. (See map opposite page 71.) How much had that area been reduced before 1800? Show the importance of the Greek revolution in relation to general European affairs.

CHAPTER IX

THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

England before the Industrial Revolution

Disadvantages of the open field system with cultivation in common.

178. Agriculture at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. — The three-field system, better known as the *open-field system*,[1] which was used on the medieval English manor, continued in use over about three fifths of England until the eighteenth century.[2] This system, as we have seen, was exceedingly wasteful, as one third of the land was uncultivated each year. The numerous strips of each tenant were separated so that he was compelled to travel an unnecessarily long distance in order to visit or cultivate all of them. Since all of the strips in any one field were plowed or harrowed at one time, and since the same crop was sowed over a large area, it was impossible for any one tenant to improve his methods unless all his neighbors agreed to do the same thing. For example, if one tenant wished to drain his land, he aroused the anger of the neighbor on whose land the water was turned. It was not possible for any one to introduce new crops, such as clover or root vegetables, unless all the villagers did the same. A careful farmer, who had

[1] E. E. C., § 492.

[2] Not only was most of the land in England still cultivated under the three-field system, but an immense area, probably one third of the arable area of the country, was waste land, swamps, or moors covered with wild grasses or brush. Other waste lands were to be found on almost every estate. Much excellent agricultural land was also used for grazing. On this land a single flock of sheep for each estate was herded by the shepherd.

removed the weeds from his own land, found that the seeds from his neighbors' strips produced new weeds which quickly choked his growing crops.

Backward methods of the separate tenant farmers.

It is quite true that two fifths of the farmers of England had already abandoned the open field system and had secured for themselves as tenants *separate, compact little farms*. These compact farms were usually cultivated more successfully, allowing a larger crop of grain than did a similar number of acres under the open field system. However, many of these farms were very small, and the farmers lacked sufficient *capital* to buy horses, cattle, and sheep, to purchase the best plows and harrows, to drain the land properly, and to have suitable sheds for housing their stock. In order to use the best farming methods known at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was necessary for agriculturists to have fairly large farms and a relatively large amount of capital.

Some articles made in the home of the village farmer.

179. Home Industry for Home Use. — We speak of the English country people as agriculturists or farmers, yet they were very much more than that. The *freehold farmer* as well as the *tenant* dwelt with his family in a tiny farmhouse, in which many indoor occupations were followed when the weather was bad and it was impossible to work out of doors. "Women spun wool into coarse cloth; men tanned their own leather. Wealth only existed in its simplest forms, and natural divisions of employment were not made, because only the rudest implements of production were now used. The rough tools required for the cultivation of the soil, and the rude household utensils needed for the comfort of daily life, were made at home. In the long winter evenings farmers, their sons, and their servants carved the wooden spoons, the platters, and the beechen bowls; fitted and riveted the bottoms into the horn mugs, or closed, in coarse fashion, the holes in the leathern jugs. They

plaited the wicker baskets; fitted handles to the scythes, rakes, and other tools; cut the staves, and fixed the thongs for the flails; made the willow or ashen teeth for rakes and harrows, and hardened them in the fire; fashioned ox yokes and forks, racks, and rack-staves; twisted willows into scythe cradles, or into the traces and other harness gear. Traveling carpenters, smiths, and tinkers visited farmhouses and remoter villages at rare intervals to perform those parts of the work which needed their professional skill. But every village of any size found employment for such trades as those of the smith and carpenter. Meanwhile the women plaited the straw for the neck-collars, stitched and stuffed sheepskin bags for the cart saddle, wove the stirrups and halters from hemp or straw, peeled the rushes for and made the candles. Spinning wheels, distaffs, needles, were never idle. Coarse home-made cloth and linen supplied all wants."[1]

Spinning Yarn

Home weaving and spinning of home raw materials.

180. Home Industry for Woolen Markets. — In the attic of his home the farmer plied his loom, weaving into cloth the yarn which had been spun by the women of the household. Our word *spinster* shows that the unmarried sisters or daughters of the farmer devoted special attention to

[1] Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 132–133.

the spinning wheel. The wool from which the yarn and cloth was made usually came from the sheep belonging to the farmer. In consequence this one little farm supported by its agriculture an entire family, and, by its yarn and cloth products brought extra money for the purchase of some comforts and luxuries.

DeFoe's description of a north England industrial district.

Daniel DeFoe, who is best known to us as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, gives us a graphic picture of a district in northern England, in which the people devoted more attention to spinning and weaving than they did to farming. This country he says is blessed by abundant power. "I mean coals, and running water on the tops of the highest hills. I doubt not but there are both springs and coals lower in these hills; but were they to fetch them thence, it is probable the pits would be too full of water: it is easy, however, to fetch them from the upper parts, the horses going light up, and coming down loaden. This place, then, seems to have been designed by providence for the very purposes to which it is now allotted, for carrying on a manufacture, which can nowhere be so easily supplied with the conveniences necessary for it. Nor is the industry of the people wanting to second these advantages. Though we met few people without doors, yet within we saw the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding, or spinning; all employed from the youngest to the oldest; scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its own support. Not a beggar to be seen, nor an idle person, except here and there in an alms-house, built for those that are ancient, and past working."

Different classes.

181. Condition of the Agricultural Classes. — At the beginning of the eighteenth century more than half of the population of England was engaged in agriculture.

A sharp distinction should be made between the *landed aristocrat*, the *freeholder* who *owned* a very small farm, the *tenant* who rented from the aristocrat a farm of twenty or thirty acres, either in strips or in a single compact area, and the *cottar*, who occupied a cottage on the "waste," with two or three acres of land.

Standards of living.

Because of the industry of the people, they were comparatively comfortable and enjoyed a decent standard of life. Unfortunately, more money was spent for ale and beer than for any other commodity, but if the beer was home-brewed, it might be considered food as well as drink. Meat was used much more commonly than it had been in the days of Chaucer, or in the time of Shakespeare. Meat was not yet eaten, however, by most of the poorer people, and they were obliged to depend chiefly upon porridges or dishes made up of wheat, rye, and other grains. Neither prices nor rents were very high. Nevertheless, many people in England during the first half of the eighteenth century were obliged to secure help from the government in the form of poor relief.

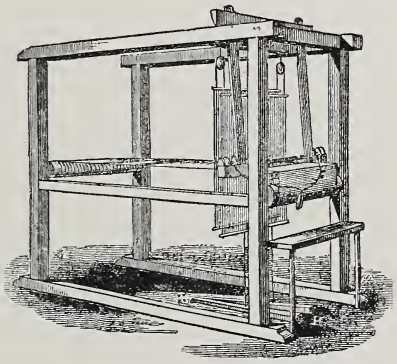
British and Huguenot artisans.

182. Industry, Old and New. — Although most goods were manufactured in the homes of the workers, there were many artisans employed in shops in the towns. In addition to the craftsmen of English descent, these artisans included many skilled immigrants, chief among them the *Huguenots*, who fled from France even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but particularly after Louis XIV unwisely took away their religious rights and privileges (§ 57). These Huguenot workers were especially famous as silk weavers; in consequence the manufacture of silk became an important English industry. They were also skillful in the making of sails and of lace. In addition to the wool and silk industries a large amount of linen was spun and woven by the people, chiefly

in rural districts in Scotland and in Ireland. Iron manufacturing was developing to some extent, and coal was mined more extensively than in any former time.

The work of "clothier capitalists."

During the early part of the eighteenth century a new capitalist class was engaged in the cloth industry. They would buy wool from the farmers, gathering it over a large area and transporting it on pack horses to workers who would clean and card it. It was then transported to those who spun the wool into the thread or yarn and carried, possibly a long distance, to the master weaver who turned out the finished cloth. From these again the "*clothier capitalists*" took the cloth, which they sent to market, usually at a distance. This work of the early eighteenth century capitalists was an attempt to organize the cloth industry on a large scale, making use of the special advantage of one section of country for the raising of sheep and the cultivation of wool, and also of the skill of particularly competent carders and spinners and weavers in other sections.



Old-fashioned Hand Loom

Old methods and new in the early eighteenth century.

We can see from this brief survey that agricultural and industrial methods in England in the early part of the eighteenth century were crude compared with those in use to-day. We can see also in the tendency to abandon the obnoxious open field system, in the introduction of new crops and methods, in the newer organization of the industries, and most of all in the more extensive use of

capital in farming and in manufacturing, the beginning of those agrarian and industrial revolutions which created a new England before the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Agrarian Revolution

Methods borrowed from the Dutch.

183. Early Improvements in Agriculture. — Dutch farmers whose land was limited in amount had proved long before 1700 that it was not necessary to leave a third or a quarter of the arable land uncultivated. By a wise rotation of crops, planting grain one year and some entirely different crop the next on the same field, they had shown that continuous cultivation was possible and desirable. A few Englishmen who had separate farms began to copy the methods of the Dutch and other advanced and progressive continental farmers. They planted clover or vegetables with deep roots which would stir up the soil and give it a chance to renew itself.

Work of the first English experimenters.

In England there were a number of men who experimented with new crops and methods. One of these, Jethro *Tull*, instead of planting vegetables in a haphazard fashion, made use of a drill which planted seeds at the proper depth and the proper distance apart. Another of the enthusiasts for the new agriculture was Lord *Townshend*, who devoted to the cultivation of turnips a fair part of his estate, on which it was said that two rabbits had fought for every blade of grass. Before this time there had been so little hay and fodder for the cattle that it was necessary to kill most of them in the fall, preserving the meat with salt for use in winter. By the use of turnips and other foods it was possible to keep a supply of fodder for cattle in winter, and the cattle could be fattened far more than formerly. Posterity feels gratitude toward this man, ridiculed by his contemporaries and nicknamed "Turnip Townshend."

184. New Demands for Food, and Later Improvements. — The agrarian and industrial revolutions made England rich. Towns grew rapidly and there was a greater demand for food than had existed before. Many farmers were therefore willing to try the new agriculture because larger crops were a necessity.

Influence of wealth and growth of population.

Before this time the cattle and sheep of England had been used comparatively little for food. In fact farmers had preferred oxen with long shanks and heavy bones suitable for dragging a wooden plow through heavy turf to cattle with large bodies and a tendency to fat. They also preferred those breeds of sheep that gave a good crop of wool, because the carcass was very seldom used. During this century, however, the demand for food made it desirable to raise cattle and sheep chiefly for the market.[1]

Raising cattle and sheep for food.

185. Enclosures (1750–1840). — With the demand for more food and new methods it was necessary to abandon the old open field system and enclose in compact farms all cultivated land, including the commons.[2] The costs of this were considerable. Since the nobles who owned the great estates usually had far more capital than the small farmers — especially if the oldest son had married the daughter of a large merchant or if a successful business man had bought up the estate — the *large landed proprietors* gained most of the advantages which came

Why enclosures created large landed estates.

[1] In 1710 the average weight of cattle sold in the Smithfield market was 370 pounds; in 1795 it was 800. The average weight of calves increased from 50 pounds to 148; of sheep from 28 to 80; of lambs from 18 to 50. This shows clearly that although most farm animals in 1700 may have been chiefly "skin and bone," they were really valuable for food by the end of the century.

[2] In a few cases enclosure was brought about by the common consent of all the farmers of an estate. Ordinarily it took place under a general act of Parliament. The enclosure not only caused abandonment of the old open fields with their numerous separate strips, but it also included most of the commons and a very large amount of waste land.

from enclosure and the new agriculture. It benefited also the progressive, ambitious tenant.

Effect of enclosure on some tenants, freeholders, and cottars.

There were several classes living in the rural districts that were injured rather than benefited by the enclosure system. Among these were the ordinary *tenant farmers* who had neither the capital nor the skill to make use of new opportunities. If they could not remain as tenants, they became laborers for their former landlord or some fellow farmer, or they drifted to the towns, where they found work in the factories, or they became public charges. Another class which suffered was the *small landowner*, the descendant of the freeholder of the Middle Ages. His problem was similar to that of the tenant class just considered, because his farm was too small for the new agriculture and he usually lacked capital for necessary improvements. It was wiser, therefore, for him to sell his land to the landed proprietor than to attempt to cultivate it for himself. Enclosure was fatal for the *cottar* class, since there were only a limited number of cottages. It was not possible therefore for a young laborer to marry and settle down until some cottage was vacant. With the enclosure of the open fields and the waste, the cottars were left between the devil and the deep sea, so that cottars as a class disappeared from England.

Ownership of land by landed aristocracy.

186. General Results of the Agrarian Revolution. — These changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries radically transformed the land situation in England. In 1700 one farmer out of three owned or had, by custom, tenant rights in a farm of more than five acres. In 1900 less than a quarter of a million persons cultivated their own land. During the last fifty years several laws have been passed for the purpose of increasing the number of land-owners in England and in Ireland. The success of the latter we shall study later (§ 000). The former have accomplished little because before January, 1911, only

eight thousand applicants[1] had been cared for, with a total of less than 100,000 acres. It will thus be seen that although the *agrarian revolution* improved England agriculturally, it helped to make England a country of large landed proprietors, and helped to hasten the disappearance of that yeoman class which had made her famous in the Middle Ages.

The Industrial Revolution

Spinners and weavers.

187. First Improvements in Spinning and Weaving. — As we have already seen, in the period before 1750 spinning and weaving were done at home.[2] As spinning was a simple process compared with weaving, it was performed by women or girls in their spare moments. The weaving on the contrary was hard work, which could be done only by men. A long-armed man had a decided advantage over a short man, because it was necessary to throw the shuttle across from one side to the other. If only one man was at work at a loom, the cloth was of

[1] Two farmers out of five live outside of the towns. In 1876 in the country "nearly one half of the enclosed land of England and Wales was owned by 2250 persons; while at the same time nine tenths of Scotland was owned by 1700, and two thirds of Ireland by 1942."

[2] "The first necessary step in cloth making is to straighten out the threads of the fibre, which is done in the case of wool by combing, in the others by carding, both being done at that time by hand implements. The next step is spinning, that is, drawing out the fibres, which have been made parallel by carding, into a slender cord, and at the same time twisting this sufficiently to cause the individual fibres to take hold one of another and thus make a thread of some strength. . . . When the thread had been spun it was placed upon the loom; firmly spun material being necessary for the "warp" of vertical threads, softer and less tightly spun material for the "woof" or "weft," which was wrapped on the shuttle and thrown horizontally by hand between the two diverging lines of warp threads. After weaving, the fabric was subjected to a number of processes of finishing, fulling, shearing, dyeing, if that had not been done earlier, and others, according to the nature of the cloth or the kind of surface desired." (Cheyney, *Ind. and Soc. Hist. of England*, 205–206.)

necessity narrow, because he could not throw or hand the shuttle across a wide space. For the weaving of broad cloth two men were needed.

Kay's flying shuttle and the demand for spun yarn.

Since many people were engaged in spinning, there was usually an abundant supply of yarn, although one weaver could keep four or five spinners busy. In 1733 Kay patented a *flying shuttle* which was thrown across from one side to the other by alternately pulling two cords. This left both of the weaver's hands free for weaving and permitted one weaver to make cloth much wider than before. As it also increased greatly the demand for spun yarn, many weavers were idle because there was not sufficient material to keep them occupied.

Improvements in spinning machines.

188. Later Inventions in the Textile Industry. — The supply of yarn and thread remained inadequate for many years. In 1764 a weaver named Har'greaves, noticing that a spinning wheel which had been accidentally overturned continued to revolve, invented a machine in which eight threads could be spun at the same time. This he called the "*spinning jenny*." A few years later Richard Arkwright for the first time applied power other than hand power to the making of textiles. He invented a *water frame* in which the spinning was done by water power. Less than ten years after this improvement, Crompton combined the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright into a single machine called a "*spinning mule*," which made use of water as power and spun a finer and stronger thread than any of the older machines had been able to turn out. It can easily be seen that these three successive inventions made it possible for the spinners to produce very much more yarn than the hand weavers could possibly use.

In 1785 a clergyman named Cartwright made the first *power loom*, by which weaving was done, not by hand but by power. It was nearly thirty years, however, before

this loom was practicable. When power looms did come into common use, however, after the overthrow of Napoleon, they revolutionized the textile industry more than all previous inventions.

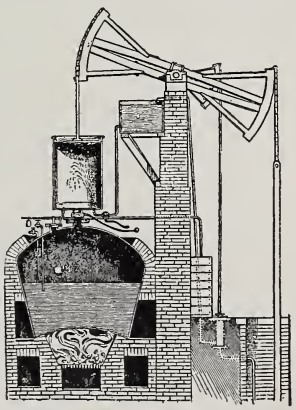
Invention and adoption of power looms.

In spite of the fact that wool raising, spinning, and weaving had been the chief industries of England for centuries, these inventions were made first for the cotton rather than for the wool industry. The last of the series of inventions which was to make cotton cheap and usable was not completed in England at all, but by a Connecticut Yankee, Eli Whitney (1793). Whitney's contribution, of course, was the *cotton gin*, which separated the cotton fiber from the seeds a thousand times as rapidly as it could be done on the southern plantations by negro hand labor.

Completion of cotton manufacturing inventions.

189. The Steam Engine. — The invention of new machinery for spinning and weaving was only part of the great Industrial Revolution, because similar changes were brought about by the discovery of new means for developing power, that is, new uses for coal and new means for utilizing steam for power. The iron industry also was reorganized at this period, and new and better methods of transportation were devised.

Other phases of the Industrial Revolution.



Newcomen's Steam Engine

About the beginning of the eighteenth century an inventor named Newcomen improved an old "steam engine" so that the great expansive power of steam could be used in pumping water out of mines and in lifting weights. *Newcomen's*

Watt invents a practical steam engine.

engine was exceedingly crude.[1] In 1763 James *Watt*, a mathematical instrument maker, was asked by the University of Glasgow to repair a Newcomen engine. He began immediately to experiment with means by which the steam could be drawn off from the cylinder and condensed without the wasteful process of cooling the engine. After several years he was able to make a practical condenser, and by 1776 the steam engine was being used as a source of power in a number of ways. In time the steam engine was improved wonderfully; it was used in transportation on steamboats and for locomotives, as well as for the mechanical power that was produced by the engine of the stationary type.

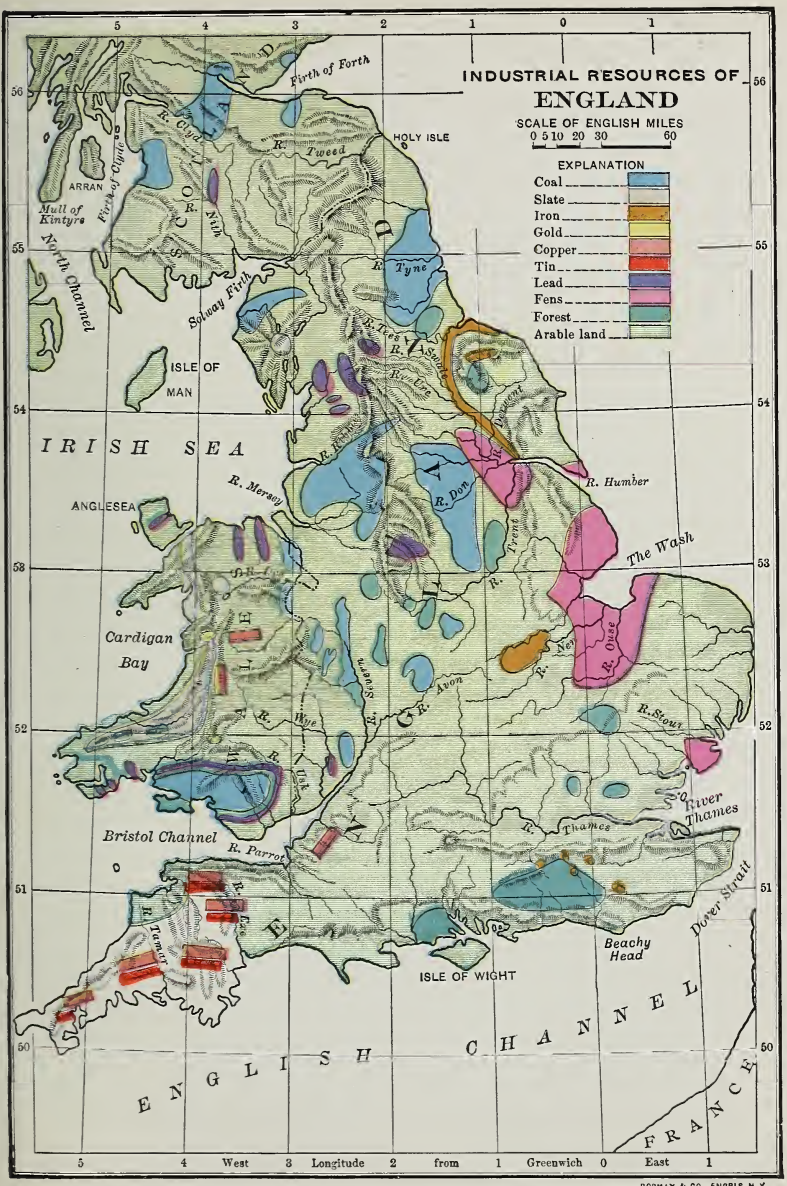
Improvements in the form of iron.

190. Iron and Coal. — The development and perfection of these machines, especially when used for power or with power, gave impetus to both the iron industry and coal mining. Before this time iron had been exceedingly brittle, but a series of inventors, of whom *Cort* may be remembered, developed new methods of smelting and cooling iron. By a process of stirring the semi-liquid, smelted iron, Cort was able to get rid of a large part of the carbon which had made the metal brittle. His iron was known as malleable iron, because it could easily be worked into different forms and shapes without breaking. It was much stronger than the older kind of iron.

Development of iron foundries and coal mining in northern England.

In the older process of iron making, charcoal had been used extensively, but inventors discovered means for making *coke* out of coal and using the coke in the smelting of iron. Since the best coal beds are located in the north of England or in Wales, the new iron industries were established in northern England, just as the new textile

[1] After the steam had entered the cylinder and driven up the piston, it was necessary to spray cold water into the cylinder in order to condense the steam. This cooled the cylinder very much, and it took a great deal of steam to heat it again properly.



BORMAY & CO., ENGR'S, N.Y.

factories were also established in northern and northwestern England, where they had abundant water power and were close to extensive coal beds.

Importance and methods in coal mining. Condition of the women and children in mines.

It was soon found that factories which used steam power turned out a much larger product than those that depended on waterfalls. There arose in consequence a great demand for coal, which is second to no other product of England in the development of her industries and commerce. New methods of coal mining were developed. The Watt steam engine was used by progressive mine owners in pumping out water, in sinking deeper shafts, and lifting coal out of the mine. Less progressive mine operators still clung to the older processes by which the coal was carried by women or children along the galleries of the mine and by ladders to the surface of the ground. We shall notice later (§ 000) that the conditions in these mines were very bad until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Construction of canals.

191. Transportation. — In the first half of the eighteenth century England followed the example of Holland, France, and Prussia in the construction of artificial waterways or *canals*. The first important canal was that made by the Duke of Bridgewater, who possessed large coal mines seven miles from the town of Manchester. Finding that the cost of transporting coal on horseback was too expensive as the demand for coal grew, the Duke connected his estate with Manchester by canal. He was able to carry coal to the city for a maximum charge of six shillings a ton, a price much less than the former cost. Other canals were built, among them one connecting Manchester with the sea, which has since developed into the Manchester ship canal and has made Manchester a seaport. By 1830 England had nearly four thousand miles of canals and navigable rivers.

This same period witnessed the improvement of the

Improved surfacing and greater use of main highways.

execrable highways (§ 48), some of which became turnpikes. A Scotch engineer, Macadam, devised a plan of surfacing roads with crushed stone, a method which survives in the pavement known as *macadam*. Although the main highways were improved somewhat, the ordinary road was in wretched condition until late in the nineteenth century. Passengers were carried over these highways in special coaches which made excellent time. The trip from London to Edinboro, a distance of 395 miles, was covered in forty-two hours and thirty-two minutes. Several shorter trips were made at the rate of from ten to eleven miles an hour.[1]

Development of the modern steamship.

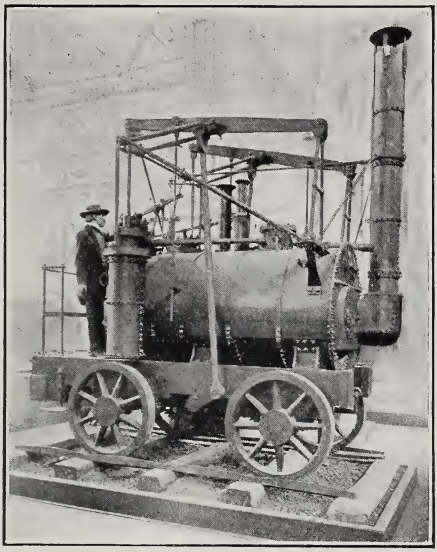
192. The Application of Steam to Transportation. — The steam engine was used much earlier in steamboats than on railways. This was probably due to the fact that boats were in use before its invention, whereas railways were not developed until later. Different inventors, English and American, had tried to propel boats by steam before Robert Fulton succeeded in making the *steamboat* a success. In 1807 his "sidewheeler," the *Clermont*, made voyages from New York to Albany. Within a few years a sailing vessel, the *Savannah*, propelled in part by steam, crossed the ocean, but it was not until 1837 that steamers made this longer voyage. Nor was the screw propeller which is used now for steamships invented by John Ericson until some years later.

In order to reduce the jolting and the friction to which coaches were exposed on turnpikes, rails were laid on

[1] Speed rather than comfort must have been the object desired, for the travelers of that day make as many unkind remarks about the highways as did the travelers a century earlier (§ 48). The apparent cost of these trips was not excessive because, if one rode outside, the actual fare reckoned in shillings and sovereigns was usually less than that of the first class railway carriage at the present time, and only about double that of the third class charges on British railways to-day. Of course the shilling in that day had a much higher purchasing power than has the shilling of to-day.

highways or on private rights of way. The first coaches were drawn by horses and it was not until the close of the wars against Napoleon that locomotives were first used for hauling coaches or cars. The "Puffing Billy" (1813) was practically the first steam locomotive. About 1825 the *first railways* were constructed in England and in America. They became really successful when George Stephenson, in competition with other inventors, made an improved engine, "the Rocket," which drew a load at the high speed of thirteen miles per hour. These applications of steam to water and land transportation have revolutionized travel, expanded commerce, and united distant territories and peoples.

Early railways and locomotives.

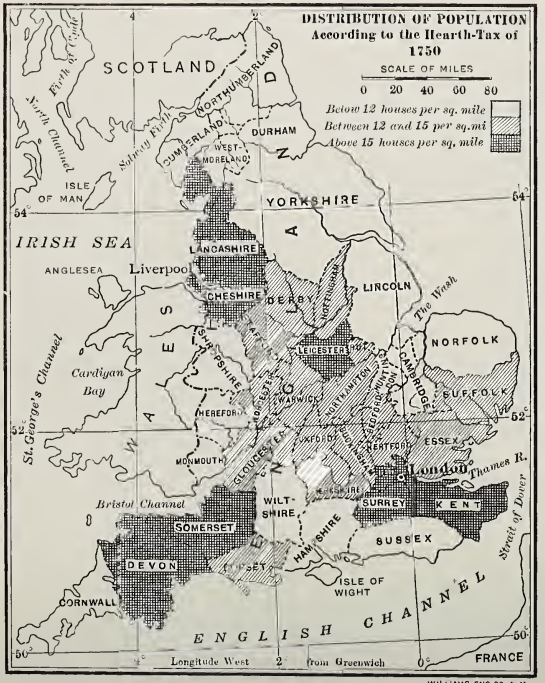


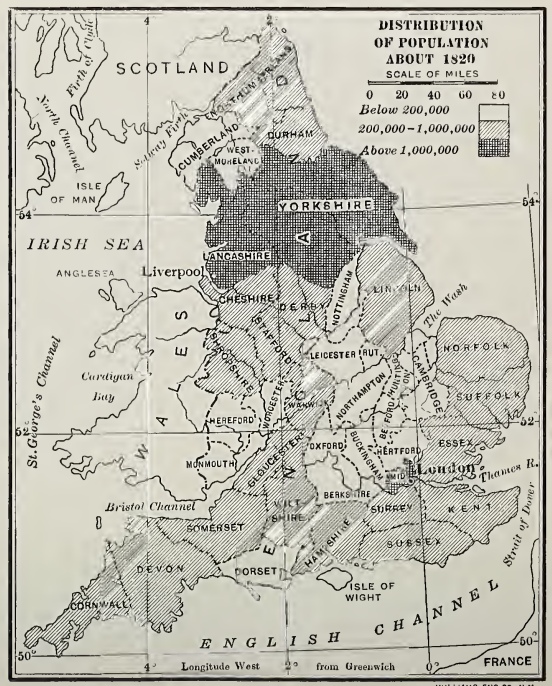
THE "PUFFING BILLY"

EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGES

193. Economic Changes Connected with the Industrial Revolution. — These changes which we have considered affected England in many ways. They caused an entire *shifting of the population* of the country. Whereas before 1750 the most populous counties had been found in the southeast, or in the south central part of England, within the following half century or century the center

Shifting of population to northern England.


DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
According to the Hearth-Tax of 1750
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
Below 12 houses per sq. mile
Between 12 and 15 per sq. mi
Above 15 houses per sq. mile
SCOTLAND
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WEST-MORELAND
ISLE OF MAN
YORKSHIRE
IRISH SEA
LANCASHIRE
ANGLESEA
Liverpool
CHESHIRE
DERBY
LINCOLN
The Wash
NORFOLK
Cardigan Bay
SUFFOLK
HEREFORD
ESSEX
MONMOUTH
London
Thames R.
Bristol Channel
WILT-SHIRE
SURREY
KENT
SOMERSET
HAMPSHIRE
SUSSEX
DEVON
ISLE OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Strait of Dover
Longitude West
from Greenwich
FRANCE
WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.


DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ABOUT 1820
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
Below 200,000
200,000–1,000,000
Above 1,000,000
SCOTLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
YORKSHIRE
IRISH SEA
LANCASHIRE
ANGLESEA
Liverpool
CHESHIRE
DERBY
LINCOLN
The Wash
NORFOLK
Cardigan Bay
SUFFOLK
HEREFORD
ESSEX
MONMOUTH
London
Thames R.
Bristol Channel
SOMERSET
SURREY
KENT
SUSSEX
DEVON
ISLE OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Strait of Dover
Longitude West
from Greenwich
FRANCE
WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

of population outside of London shifted to the northern counties. These northern counties had numerous fairly swift rivers, and they contained or were near the best English deposits of iron and coal.[1]

Evolution of the factory system.

Not only did these industrial changes cause a shifting of the population of England toward the north, but they also led to the concentration of the population in villages and towns. It was cheaper to have the buildings where the carders worked near those in which the spinners were employed or weavers tended their looms. Later, some capitalists erected large factories in which there were thousands of spindles or a large number of power looms, thus they also brought under a single roof all or practically all of the different processes by which the raw wool or cotton was transformed into finished cloth. Because of this the *factory system* with its huge buildings, noisy machines, and large output became the necessary result of the Industrial Revolution.

Great reduction in the price of textiles and other products.

194. Effect on Prices and Home Industry. — It stands to reason that, if a boy or girl could look after machines on which several hundred spindles were turning, yarn should be very much cheaper than it had been in the days when a woman gave her entire attention to a single old-fashioned spinning wheel. Possibly the most important economic result of the Industrial Revolution was the very great decrease in the price of articles now manufactured by machinery. Unfortunately we cannot say the same thing of the price of farm products, because, although new and better methods were used,

[1] The climate of many northern cities is particularly adapted to the manufacture of cotton, which can be woven best in a moist atmosphere, and they introduced the new inventions earlier than others. Of English cities to-day which have more than 250,000 inhabitants, practically all except London and Liverpool are located in the industrial district of north central England. Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds are the three most important of these cities.

the common people paid as much for wheat and many vegetables as before.[1]

Effect of the Industrial Revolution on household industry.

The Industrial Revolution not only destroyed the open-field system and caused a shifting of population from country to factory towns, but it also destroyed home industry. After 1820 it was impractical for any farmer to spend half his time weaving, because he could not compete with the new power looms. Long before that time the spinning wheel of the ordinary farmer's home had been relegated to the attic or the woodshed. Even if "home-spun" was made for members of the family, it was no longer profitable to spin yarn by hand for the market. These changes meant that a farmer who before had supplemented his income from the soil by the sales of yarn or homespun cloth was now deprived of that extra income. It meant further that the weaver who had been able to weave a few hours and work in his garden the rest of the time must now devote himself exclusively to agriculture or to standing ten or twelve hours at a stretch before a power loom.

Condition of work in the factories.

195. Effects of the Factory System. — The factory system made England rich and made textiles cheap; but it took heavy toll of human lives. In the early days of the factories and the factory towns, conditions were almost indescribably bad. The factory itself was a hot, damp, dirty, unventilated place, in which the workers spent *long hours* of almost unremitting toil. If most of the workers had been men, this would have been endur-

[1] There are two reasons why the prices of agricultural products were kept up. The first was the *corn laws* which prohibited the importation of grain or permitted it only when prices of wheat, barley, and oats were excessively high in England. The second reason was the fact that the landed aristocracy controlled most of the farm land in England. Consequently, in order to freeze out the small tenant, they raised rents to a point several times as high as they had been a century earlier. It was possible to ask these high rents because the new agriculture had made the farms more productive.

able; but, as the machines were improved and simplified, most of the processes were performed not by men but by women and children. In some cases, before the government interfered, women and even children were compelled to work fifteen, sixteen, and even eighteen hours a day. Since the workers were rapidly exhausted by these terrible strains, it was constantly necessary to secure more labor. Overseers of the poor sold to grasping factory owners the services and, in fact, the bodies of the children who were in their charge. Nominally these children became apprentices of the capitalists; actually they were slaves.[1]

Living and sleeping conditions in factory towns.

Possibly it did not matter much to boys or girls or women who worked at least fifteen hours a day in what kind of home they lived or in what kind of quarters they slept, yet the *living conditions* of these first factory workers were, if anything, less satisfactory than the conditions in the factory itself. The first shacks or sheds erected in the factory towns were filthy and unfitted for human habitation. As the factory towns grew into good-sized communities, tenements replaced the shacks. In the dark, dirty rooms of these buildings the child tried to recuperate with four or five hours' sleep before a new day of heavy toil; he was fortunate if he was not one of the "submerged tenth" who lived in a cellar.

Influence of the Economic Revolution on England as a World Power

196. Degree of Industrial Development. — Ever since the time when the English vessels defeated the great

[1] Until a law was passed by Parliament in 1802 (§ 000) limiting the hours of the apprentices from these workhouses to twelve or fourteen a day, nothing had been done to help the little children, some of whom were as young as four or five years. Even this law was for the benefit only of workhouse apprentices. The children from homes were not protected at all by the law.

England's naval and maritime development before 1763.

Armada of Spain in 1588,[1] the English sea power had been growing. By the Treaty of Utrecht (§§ 59, 84) England gained commercial advantages which enabled her to expand her trade with other countries. The Seven Years' War, destroying, as it did, the French colonial empire in North America and in India (§§ 86–87), marks the beginning of English supremacy as the first world power on the sea. From that time her navy was supreme, as it gained many victories and seldom was defeated. In truth, Britannia ruled the wave. Her trade also expanded more rapidly than before.

Development of cotton industry measured by cotton imported.

The development of England's foreign commerce after the Seven Years' War was due not only to her naval supremacy and to her numerous colonies, but also to the economic revolution. The transformation of agriculture enabled England to produce a better supply of food for her people than formerly. The new inventions gave England an abundance of cloth with which to supply the world, and they also enabled her to undersell other cloth-makers, who were still spinning and weaving by old, slow, expensive methods.[2]

The development of the cotton industry may be illustrated by a few figures. In 1770 Great Britain imported annually only four million pounds of raw cotton. Fifteen years later nearly five times as much was brought to the country. By 1840 the imports of raw cotton reached nearly a million bales a year. Imports of wool, which in 1810 were but a million pounds annually, increased 25-fold in the next sixty years.

We must not imagine that England's development in these years was confined to the textile industry. We have already mentioned the changes in the coal and iron

[1] E. E. C., § 699.

[2] Until 1825 the government of Great Britain forbade the exportation of machines or plans of machines.

industries. In 1740 England imported more than half of the 40,000 tons of iron which she used annually, but in 1788 she produced 61,000 tons, and, before the Reform Act of 1832 was passed, her annual production of iron and steel was more than a million tons, some of which was exported.

Comparison of production and exports of iron.

197. Military Advantages of the New Wealth. — Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when England was rated as a third, or at best a second-class power, she was in a sense wealthier than her continental neighbors because she did not waste her wealth and resources in continuous and costly warfare. In the earlier wars of the eighteenth century England was able to give large subsidies to her continental allies. With the expansion of her industries naturally she produced far more wealth than formerly and was in a position to control the markets of the world, and to win a great war (that with Napoleon) because of her revenues. Money has wisely been called the chief of the sinews of war, since more wars have been lost through the lack of revenue than through lack of men.

Military advantages of the new wealth. Use of wealth instead of men to win European wars.

During the great Napoleonic wars, the English spent a sum in excess of four billions of dollars, a sum that seems small in comparison with the expenditures of the Great War (§ 000), but which was probably one fourth of the total wealth of the country at that time. It would have been impossible for the English government to raise and expend these immense sums had her wealth not been growing by leaps and bounds. Any other nation of that day would have been bankrupted.

Victories due to the vast expenditures in the conflict with Napoleon.

198. Commercial and Maritime Expansion. — As a very small part of the cloth and other goods made by machinery in England was used in that country, she sought new markets on the Continent and in America. It will be remembered that Napoleon's famous continen-

Needs of new markets, especially before 1815.

tal system (§§ 151–153) was an attempt on his part to keep England out of the markets of Europe. He hoped in that way to hamper her trade greatly and thus compel her to make peace. Not only did Napoleon fail to keep the countries of Europe from purchasing British-made goods, but in several cases countries which had been neutral or favorable to Napoleon opposed him in order that they might import goods from England at a lower cost than they could secure them in any other way.

Commercial policy after 1815.

After Waterloo many continental countries revived their systems of tariffs and thus excluded many English-made goods or limited the market for these goods. The United States tried by protective tariffs [1] to limit importations of manufactured articles from Great Britain, without great success. England's desire to keep and develop trade with Spanish-American countries led her to protest against the plans of the Holy Alliance to reconquer those colonies (§ 175).

Importance of the economic revolution to Great Britain.

This brief survey gives us some idea of the economic expansion of England caused by the economic revolution. We can see that England's naval supremacy, her colonial expansion, and the growth of commerce which was due to that revolution made her the first power in the world. In fact, the more we study history, the more we realize that world power is built upon solid business development more than it is upon diplomacy, national prestige, militarism, or naval supremacy.

[1] All students of American history remember that at the close of our War of 1812 England flooded the American market with her manufactured articles. Ever since the Embargo (1807), English goods had been kept almost entirely out of the American market, and the surplus stocks of goods which had accumulated in Great Britain, coupled with the new continental tariffs just mentioned, made the United States England's best market. In spite of our own tariffs, enacted in 1816 and in later years, it must be admitted that we imported from England large quantities of manufactured goods in the half century between the War of 1812 and the Civil War.

General References

Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 18–157.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 395–406, II, 67–99.

Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History; Select Documents*, 482–544.

Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 199–239.

Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*, 132–181.

Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 209–227, 262–300.

Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century, — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 18–39.

Innes, *England's Industrial Development*, 216–254.

Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, xiii–xli, 21–59.

Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 148–252, 275–315.

Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, 494–540, 609–745.

Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 1–73.

Topics

Conditions before the Agrarian Revolution: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 1, 395–403; Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, xv–xxix; Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 148–161; Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 7–50; Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History; Select Documents*, 482–000; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 18–64.

The Great Inventors: Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 203–212; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 18–23; Scherer, *Cotton as a World Power*, 59–83.

Enclosures: Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 216–220; Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History; Select Documents*, 525–544; Johnson, *Disappearance of the Small Landowner*, 83–156; Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 161–167, 214–216, 249–252, 290–305.

Studies

1. Home industry before 1750. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V.

2. The woolen industry in early eighteenth century. Bland,

Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 482–487, 492–495.

3. The transition from home industry to the factory system. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 54–65.

4. The grain trade before 1750. Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 487–491.

5. Some famous agriculturists. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 499–509.

6. The decay of the yeomanry. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 34–44.

7. The condition of the wage-earners. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 45–59.

8. Results of the agrarian revolution. Ticknor, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 541–548.

9. Some results of inclosure. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 74–82.

10. The factory system and its results. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 212–213, 235–239.

11. Coal mining. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 24–27.

12. Some results of the Industrial Revolution. Ticknor, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 530–540.

13. Development of cotton, wool, and iron industries (1750–1850). Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 76–89.

Questions

1. Describe the open field system in use in medieval and early modern times. What was the nature of household industry in the early eighteenth century? Name four classes that earned a living from the soil and describe the condition of each.

2. To what extent had there been inclosures of land, home industry for general market, and shop or factory industry before 1750?

3. What do you mean by the agrarian revolution? Why was one inevitable in the eighteenth century? Explain results of new crops, improved methods, and inclosures of lands.

4. Describe the process of spinning and weaving before 1730. Name in order the inventions developed in the cotton industry before 1800, and show the nature of the changes brought about by each.

5. Explain in a general way why Watt's steam engine was

better than any earlier machine. What was the importance of its use in the iron industry? Why is it connected with the development of coal mining? In what ways was it used in transportation? Why were improvements in the iron industry connected with those in coal mining?

6. What were the methods of transportation before 1700? What improvements were made in roads; in canals and other waterways? In your opinion why were there successful steamboats before a steam locomotive was made practicable?

7. Show the effect of the economic revolution in England upon the location of the shops, upon the development of a factory system, upon England's foreign trade, and upon farm life.

8. Why was the economic revolution in England of the first importance in the development of Great Britain into a world power? Explain your last answer in detail.

CHAPTER X

ECONOMIC REVOLUTION ON THE CONTINENT

The Peasant and His Land

Peasant semi-proprietorship in France.

199. The Peasant and his Land before 1789. — Before the French Revolution most of the peasants of France were practically free and "owned" their land, subject to tithes due to the church, small payments due to the lord of the estate on which the lands were located, and heavy land taxes, collected by the government. The taxes alone sometimes amounted to half the value of the farm products. The agricultural land of France itself was divided into separate holdings, more than a hundred million in number, and some of them were so small that they contained but a single apple or plum tree. In eastern France most of the peasants were still serfs, and the total number of serfs in the kingdom was about a million and a half. They did not own lands but cultivated the fields of their lords.

Status of persons and lands outside of France.

In almost all other continental countries, serfdom was still common in 1789. In *Austria* Joseph II had abolished serfdom in his personal dominions (§ 109), and had decreed that no peasant should pay to his lord for the use of the peasant's lands more than seventeen per cent of any one year's crop. In *Prussia* Frederick the Great had granted relief to the peasants on the king's lands (§ 69), but he was not able to abolish serfdom on the lands of the nobles. Frederick did decree that there should be three grades of lands, one held by the nobles, another by the townsmen,

and a third by the peasants. He decreed also that no class should take up, by purchase or otherwise, any of the lands belonging to another class. In this way he pre-

The Gleaners

vented the nobles from obtaining the land monopoly that the English aristocracy was obtaining.

Abolition o feudal dues and services.

200. Changes in France after 1789. — On the famous night of the 4th of August, 1789, the National Assembly of France abolished serfdom in that country and decreed that any villein could acquire real ownership through purchase of the lands which he and his ancestors had held. In 1789 and 1790 the assembly freed the peasants from practically all feudal dues, such as baking bread in the lord's oven and paying tolls on the roads, and no compensation was granted to the lords for these lost privileges.

When it came, however, to obtaining *ownership*, the peasants were obliged to expend a large sum, usually in installments over a period of twenty or twenty-five years,

Payments made by the peasant for the purchase of their lands.

in order to get a clear title to the land which they and their ancestors had cultivated. They were very much disgusted when they found that they had to pay for their lands; their disappointment took the form of a new "war on the chateaux."

Sales of church lands at low prices.

The church lands which had been taken over by the government were sold to peasant proprietors as well as to burghers and nobles. These new purchasers paid in cash only a small part of the value of this property, because they feared that later the lands would be given back to the church. They were allowed to keep the lands, however, without additional payments. The epoch of the French Revolution and Napoleon therefore made France a land of peasant proprietors, several million in number.

Condition of the land and of the peasants before Napoleon's time.

201. Changes in Germany. — In regard to the lands of Germany [1] the first fact to be noted is that in the southwest the holdings under cultivation were small, but the farther east one went toward Russia, the larger he found the estates to be. Secondly, the condition of the peasants varied from a light form of serfdom in the southwest to a very severe form in the northeastern provinces. In fact, in the eastern provinces or states the serf was greatly oppressed, and the law permitted the noble on the death of the peasant to take one half of his personal property. As the serf owned only personal property, this meant that the lord might take half that the serf owned; usually, of course, he would not be so harsh.[2]

Reform state subject to Napoleon.

In the states subject to Napoleon, French laws were introduced and reforms were made similar to those in France. The first and most necessary reform was the

[1] In Napoleon's time Germany might be divided roughly into three groups: (1) those states connected with Austria, which we need not consider at this time; (2) those in the Confederation of the Rhine and some other areas, which were *dependent* upon *Napoleon;* and (3) Prussia.

[2] Cf. with twentieth century conditions, § 000.

abolition of serfdom. Very little, however, was done in these states to make the peasants owners of the lands which they cultivated.

Attempts to relieve the Prussian peasants.

In Prussia the national spirit was aroused by Napoleon; very soon the people demanded reforms. By 1810 serfdom had been abolished. The next year arrangements were made that the peasants who had cultivated feudal lands for their lords could gain real ownership of them. The peasant was required to return to the lord one third, or in some cases one half, of the land which he cultivated, and the lord was expected to give the peasant a clear title to the balance. In this way the peasants were made proprietors of their lands on the larger estates, and thereafter they were freed from all feudal payments or obligations in services to the lords. Nevertheless, the peasants of eastern Germany were not well off. They were still grossly ignorant, poverty-stricken, oppressed, and politically unimportant. Their condition was to be improved considerably, however, by the economic revolution that reached Germany about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Results of small peasant proprietorship.

202. Landholding in France. — There was no agrarian revolution in France similar to that in England (§ 183), but in France agriculture prospered after 1789 because the peasants owned their own land and because they were freed from the excessive taxes and heavy feudal dues of the old régime. The amount of land under cultivation increased constantly until more than three fourths of the entire area of France was cultivated. In the middle of the nineteenth century at least one person out of every four in France owned a farm. As indicated above, most of these farms were small, for more than half of them were twelve and a half acres or less.

We should compare this state of affairs with that in England. In France there are nearly ten million *landed*

Comparison of England and France.

proprietors; in England, on the contrary, practically all of the land is owned by thirty thousand men. In France there were nearly five million *additional farmers* and about five million *farm laborers;* in England there were but six hundred thousand farmers and only one million farm laborers. We can see from this comparison why England has depended to a large extent upon other countries for her supply of food. We can see also why it was possible for France to grow food for her own people and in addition to export large quantities.

Slow introduction of new crops and methods.

203. French Agriculture. — In 1787 an English writer on the "new agriculture," Arthur Young, criticized very severely the old-fashioned and inefficient methods of the French farmers. It was not until rather late in the nineteenth century that the French introduced the *newer crops* and the *better methods* which had secured for England an agrarian revolution. That French agriculturists, however, did improve their farms is shown by the fact that from six to ten more bushels of *cereals* per acre were grown in France in the last half of the nineteenth century than at the end of the eighteenth.

Increased production in crops new and old.

The form of agriculture which shows the greatest development was the raising of *potatoes.* This useful food was almost unknown in France in 1789, but by 1848 the production had reached a total of nearly eight bushels for every person in the country. The *wine* production also was very much greater than it had been before, the wine being grown particularly in the valleys of eastern France and in the southwestern part of the country. *Agricultural machinery* was not introduced until about 1840, but by 1862 the government reported that there were one thousand threshing machines in use.

204. Agriculture in Germany. — The new methods used by England before 1800 in agriculture and in industry only gradually found their way into Germany.

Whereas it might be said that in France the agrarian and industrial revolutions dated from 1825, little progress was made in Germany in either farming or manufacture before 1850. This delay was all the more unfortunate because about three fourths of the German people depended entirely upon the soil for a living. New crops and new industries would have lightened the poverty and distress of a large part of the population.

Coming of the economic revolution to Germany about 1850.

The soil of Germany is not so rich as that of France.[1] During the first half of the nineteenth century, although few improvements were made in agriculture, a considerable amount of waste land was brought under cultivation. Among the new crops which were developed during this period was the *sugar beet*, which was used for the making of sugar. In the middle of the eighteenth century a German chemist discovered sugar in beets; in 1801 another chemist found that it was possible to manufacture sugar from beets in such quantities as to make a paying industry. Little was done, however, with the growing of sugar beets, although throughout Central Europe, under the continental system of Napoleon (§ 151), sugar was derived largely from beets, because the importation of sugar from the West Indies was shut off. By 1860 the amount of beet sugar produced in Germany was more than one hundred thousand tons, about as much as the people of Indiana consumed in a single year before the war came to America.

Development of agriculture: the sugar beet.

Industry and Commerce

205. French Manufactures. — The industrial revolution was not begun in France until the second quarter of the nineteenth century; the French have never been noted for their inventiveness, and the importation of English machines was prohibited by British laws until

Belated introduction of economic changes in France.

[1] E. E. C., § 460.

1825. Even after that time there was a French tariff on steel and machinery about equal to the original cost of the articles.

Concentration of the French on articles requiring skill.

Since the English were manufacturing textiles by the use of machines driven by steam engines, they were able to sell goods cheap in an extensive market. Very wisely the French did not attempt to compete with this trade; instead they devoted their well-known skill and taste to the production by hand of fine articles such as lace, beautiful pottery, and tapestries. In this way they gave employment to a large number of workers in small factories or shops.

Development of French textile manufacture.

Even before the great French Revolution the French had started a cotton factory, but little progress was made in the cotton or other textile industries until about 1825. To be sure, about 1800 *Jacquard* (Jac-kar′) invented a loom for the manufacture of fine pattern silks and three quarters of a century later there were more than 20,000 of them in use in Lyons, the center of the silk industry. In northeastern France considerable attention was given, as in previous centuries, to the manufacture of fine woolens or linens, including laces and similar articles.

Making Pattern-card for Jacquard Loom

Power machines were introduced rather slowly in

France, for even as late as 1830 there were only 625 stationary steam engines in the whole country. This delay was due in part to the extensive hand industries which we have just considered. It was due also to the lack of large supplies of coal and to failure to mine coal in quantities. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century there was mined in all France less than one per cent of the amount now produced annually in the United States.

Belated development of steam power and coal mining.

206. Transportation. Commerce to 1815. — Railways developed more slowly in France than in England and the United States and even later than in Germany. That they were not constructed sooner was due to France's fine system of navigable rivers, her numerous artificial canals, and her extensive highways. Although there were only 12,000 miles of railroad at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, there were at the same time nearly 4,000 miles of navigable rivers, and the mileage of artificial canals was three fourths that of the rivers. Whereas, in 1789, the roads of France, the best in Europe of that day, included a total length of little more than 27,000 miles, or only about double the length of the Roman roads in France in the time of the early Roman Empire,[1] at the establishment of the Third French Republic in 1870, there was nearly ten times that mileage in roads and highways.

French railways, fine waterways, canals, and roads.

We shall recall that in the eighteenth century the French were intense and rather successful commercial rivals of the English (§ 83); for French commerce in the eighteenth century increased more rapidly than that of the British Isles, although somewhat smaller in volume at the beginning and end of the century. The French Revolution, followed as it was by general European wars lasting for more than a score of years, interfered greatly

Growth of French commerce to 1792. Decline during the Napoleonic wars.

[1] E. E. C., § 383.

with the foreign commerce of France. In the year that Napoleon was made first consul (§ 145) the foreign trade of the country was only one third what it had been in the last year before the war with Great Britain; nor had it grown at all by the time Napoleon was finally overthrown by his enemies.

France under the Restoration (1815–1830).

207. Expansion of French Commerce. — When the Bourbon kings were restored to the French throne in 1814,[1] they did little for the economic development of France, because in spite of their *protective tariffs* they did not help industry,[2] and did not give proper encouragement to commerce.

Contrast between the Orleanist and Bonapartist rule.

The *July monarchy* (1830–1848, § 217) was supposed to be distinctively a business or *bourgeoisie* government. It did attempt to aid the commercial classes, but its policies were neither broad nor far-sighted. To be sure the industrial revolution occurred during this period and gave great impetus to French manufactures. Commerce also developed to some extent. Yet under the *Second Empire*, that of Napoleon III (1852–1870), which did not pose as a business government, far more progress was made both in industry and commerce than at any previous time. During those years it looked as though

[1] The Bourbons certainly had not learned means by which commerce might be promoted. Naturally, when the foreign wars were over, French merchants should have regained almost at once most of the trade that they had lost in the previous decades. As a matter of fact French commerce was less extensive at the time the Bourbons were again overthrown (the July Revolution, 1830, § 216) than it was before the general European wars.

[2] The wheat growers of the country possibly owed the Bourbons a debt because very *heavy duties were placed upon imports of grain*, following the example of the English tariff (§ 000). The English corn laws worked a great hardship, because England needed large importations of wheat, and were therefore repealed in 1846; on the other hand, in France, a distinctively agricultural country which raised practically its whole supply of food, the similar French laws might be considered a benefit.

France might again become the rival of Great Britain in the foreign markets of the world. This, of course, she did not do.

208. Commercial Condition of Germany before 1840. — As we noted in Chapter VIII, Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a loosely organized feudal state made up of several hundred principalities and more than one thousand other self-governing areas. Each of these had its own tariffs and collected customs or tolls at its boundaries. Since some were made up of scattered districts, entirely separated from one another by intervening states, they had many *external tariffs* besides numerous *internal toll systems*, which had survived from medieval times. In Prussia, for example, there were sixty different tariffs.

Numerous tariff systems in Germany in 1800.

When Napoleon simplified the German system, and the German Confederation was organized in 1815 with thirty-eight component states or cities (later thirty-nine), the possibilities of commerce within Germany and with foreign countries was improved remarkably. Even yet, however, the conditions were worse than in the United States before the adoption of our present Constitution in 1787. Our situation was somewhat similar, for the states were continually having tariff wars and commercial troubles.[1] Prussia's territories were more scattered than those of any other German state. In 1818 she not only adopted a uniform and rather liberal tariff for all her possessions, but she also began her epoch-making policy of uniting all northern Germany into a single commercial union (*Zoll'ver-ein*), with a single tariff system.

Commercial unity growing out of Napoleon's changes and the Prussian *Zollverein*.

The chief advantage of the Zollverein was not economic but political, and we shall study it chiefly in connection with the achieving of German unity (§ 241). The customs union, however, made it possible to carry goods from one

Removal of restrictions on internal commerce before 1840.

[1] Ashley, *American History*, § 184.

end of north Germany to the other without paying any tariffs. It was also possible by 1840 to transport articles down the great rivers of Germany without paying the numerous tolls which had been collected from boatmen before 1815.[1]

Agrarian and industrial conditions before 1840.

209. Development of German Industry and of Commerce. — Before 1840 Germany was in much the condition in which England was before the Industrial Revolution (§§ 178–182). Her people were tenant farmers frequently cultivating lands in common, using antiquated methods, and without knowledge of new crops or processes. Household industry was common as it had been in England in the early eighteenth century and has been in eastern Europe until recent years. The gilds were more prosperous in Germany at this time than they had been in England since the reign of Elizabeth or in France in 1789.

The industrial revolution at its best comes to Germany.

Although the Germans were rather conservative about changing from old methods to new, about the middle of the nineteenth century they were aroused to the need of radical improvements. It is true that when the industrial revolution came to Germany it was introduced almost bodily from Great Britain. The Germans did not copy the English methods and business organization of the late eighteenth century, but they went to England and studied

[1] As Germany was still a distinctly agricultural country and as the industrial revolution had made little headway before 1840, it is probable that the Zollverein did not increase greatly the foreign trade of the country. In other words, eastern Germany continued, as it did almost to the opening of the Great War, to import grains and meats from its eastern or northern neighbors. Western Germany also brought in dairy products from its near neighbors and grains from more distant countries instead of carrying these commodities from one part of the country to another. This peculiar condition arose from the fact that most of the German rivers flow to the northwest and before 1840 roads were few and poor, and railroads were practically unknown, so that frequently it was easier for Germans to do business with people outside Germany than with their own countrymen (compare §§ 000–000).

the most progressive factories, bought the most modern machinery, and themselves made use of the most up-to-date methods. Of course this was not true of all Germany, but wherever the factory system gained a real foothold, we find it developed at its best.

German manufactures, middle of nineteenth century.

Because of German interest in chemistry, more progress was made in industries which involved dyes, pattern-making, or chemical processes than in most other lines of manufacture. In the Rhine valley, in Saxony, and to some extent in southern Germany, factories were introduced and technical schools were started. As the Germans began to make articles for themselves, they naturally ceased to import manufactured commodities, and they began to bring in more raw materials, which they themselves turned into completed products. During this period, however, German commerce developed more slowly than that of either Great Britain or France.

Social Progress on the Continent

Exemption of the individual from old obligations.

210. Individual Freedom and Enterprise. — For the ordinary worker the years between the opening of the French Revolution in 1789 and the Revolutions of 1848 were a time of steady progress. In 1789 serfdom was the rule; in 1850 there was practically no serfdom in western or central Europe. By the middle of the nineteenth century feudal dues had been lightened or abolished. No longer could the nobles ride at will over the peasants' fields, nor were the farmers' crops destroyed by doves and hares, sacred to the lords and their hunting parties. The peasant had his own time for his own work, and he often owned his lands, especially in France. Sometimes his holdings consisted of compact farms rather than separated strips.

Before 1789 it had been difficult for any worker to choose his own life occupation, for serfdom was heredi-

Breaking down of gild restrictions.

tary. If a man's father had been a day laborer, he was a day laborer. No artisan was allowed to open a shop as "master" unless he had served as apprentice and journeyman and later had been accepted as a master and admitted to a gild. Gild members, moreover, could not branch out in related lines of industry, for the gild did not permit its members to introduce new methods or inventions, and it refused to allow a master in any other gild to infringe on any of its rights (§ 12). By 1850 much had been done to give any worker who had skill or capital the right to better his condition in any way that he could. Although a youth still served an apprenticeship, neither law or custom kept him from opening a shop or manufacturing any article after he had served his time.

Increased production under new conditions.

211. Wages of Laborers. — On the Continent the *overthrow of the old régime* gave the worker a higher standard of living than he had enjoyed before. The lord no longer took the larger share of the fruits of his labors. The government no longer depended chiefly on him for taxes. Being relieved from these burdens and from feudal dues, he was able to enjoy most of what he produced. The *economic revolution of the nineteenth century* raised his standard still higher. The farmer raised more bushels of grain and potatoes to the acre. The artisan on his machines turned out a larger number of yards of cloth or a greater quantity of iron products. Each was beginning to get more for his time and his labors.

Why wages were highest in England and next highest in France.

Since most men worked for others, we are interested in the question of wages in this period. Wages were higher in England than they were on the Continent; they were higher in France than they were in surrounding countries. That condition existed because England had made more progress industrially than France; and because France had developed more than her neighbors. In general it might be said that wages were at least sixty

per cent higher in 1850 than they had been sixty years earlier. For example, an English laborer earned twenty-five cents a day in 1790; in 1850 a similar laborer was paid forty cents. In 1825 a French weaver earned only three dollars a week; in 1880 his weekly wage was six dollars. In short, we find that wages have been rising steadily on the continent of Europe during the last century and a quarter.

Comparison of European standards.

212. Standards of Living. — It is not the wages in dollars and cents that counts; rather it is the amount of comforts which that money will buy that is important. These wages just mentioned seem wretchedly small, and they were inadequate, yet we must consider that most commodities were sold much cheaper in Europe in 1914 than they were in America. In 1800 and in 1850 they were still cheaper. Our object at this time, however, is not to compare the standards of living in America to-day with those on the continent of Europe a century ago, but to compare the European standards in 1789 and in 1850.

Poor housing conditions in the early nineteenth century.

Most working people spend from two thirds to three fourths of their income for food and shelter. We can therefore learn something about their standards of living if we know how they lived and what they ate. Since many workers went from the country to the manufacturing towns, we must not expect them to be better housed than they were before. In the country, houses were undoubtedly better than they had been, but the French and German cities of the early nineteenth century were crowded and unhealthy. The streets were narrow, the tenements were unattractive, and the rooms were dark and gloomy. As the governments had taxes on doors and windows, and sometimes on chimneys, landlords had as few of these "luxuries" as possible. Conditions in the towns may not have been worse than they

were in the eighteenth century, but more people suffered the discomforts of town life.

Improvement in food standards and consumption.

Aside from housing conditions, the town worker was probably better off than his eighteenth century predecessor. He had more money to spend, and prices were little if any higher than they had been. In France, for example, the people ate less rye bread than formerly; for much more wheat was produced in 1850 than in 1789, although some wheat was exported. The greatest change was in the consumption of meat. Whereas the per capita consumption of meat (in France) had been 39 pounds a year, it rose to 63 pounds. What is true of meat was true of other desirable or nutritious foods, and of clothing. In brief the standard of living had risen at least fifty per cent in the years between the two great revolutions of 1789 and 1848.

Influence on the Continent of British legislation.

213. Legislation for Workers. — The condition of workers on the Continent both before and after the beginnings of the factory system were somewhat similar to those in England (§§ 000, 000). Since factories were introduced and mining on an extensive scale was developed later in France and Germany than in England, legislation for the benefit of workers almost of necessity came later on the Continent than in the British Isles. The first laws passed for the protection of workers were those enacted by the British parliament in 1788 (§ 000) for youthful chimney sweeps and the much better known law of 1802 for the protection of child apprentices in factories (§ 000).

French laws for mine and factory workers.

Almost thirty years before any English law had been made on that subject (§ 000), children in France were prohibited (1813) from working in *mines*, although these early laws were not well enforced in either country. Influenced by the British laws for the protection of *children and women workers in factories* (§ 000), the French govern-

ment later declared that no child under the age of eight years should be thus employed.[1]

Prussian labor laws of the mid-nineteenth century.

That the years about 1840 witnessed a considerable interest in the subject of labor legislation is shown, not only by English laws of this period and the French law just mentioned, but by a Prussian law of 1839.[2] Some years later the minimum age of Prussian child workers was raised to twelve years, which was the ordinary age limit prescribed by our American state laws only a few years ago.

European laws against unions of workers.

214. Discontent and Organization of Labor. — There were associations of gild workmen even as early as the Renaissance. These associations continued in France and particularly in Germany into the nineteenth century, but they were ordinarily groups of the old type of workmen; they had nothing to do with the new industry. Everywhere in Europe workmen were forbidden to meet or to organize in order to improve their condition. Under the reactionary governments of continental Europe after 1815 (§§ 172–174), associations or gatherings of any kind which might disturb the public peace or order were distrusted and therefore were prohibited. Although labor unions were legalized in England almost unintentionally, about 1825 (§ 000), they did not exist in France until a somewhat later period nor in Germany until after the

[1] Those from eight to twelve were allowed to work not more than eight hours a day and should attend school part of the time. Those from twelve to sixteen should not be employed more than twelve hours per day. There were local inspectors in each Franch district, but the inspection was even more unsatisfactory than in England.

[2] This law declared that no children under nine years of age should work for wages, and that those under sixteen should be employed not more than ten hours a day, night work being prohibited. The Prussian law went much farther than either the English or the French laws in providing for school attendance, since it declared that all employed children should spend five hours a day in the school room, a provision which, of course, could not be carried out.

middle of the nineteenth century. They were, of course, prohibited under the older laws.

Unemployment, other hardships, and discontent.

On the *Continent*, even more than in England, the industrial revolution caused the displacement of labor. Since the change came later on the Continent than in the British Isles, and since the transition from the old methods to the new was more abrupt, the hardships suffered by continental workers, especially skilled workers of the old type, were very great. These workers were not only thrown out of employment by the introduction of machines, which turned out goods much faster than they had been able to make them, but they were either too proud or too old to adapt themselves to work of the new type. In many communities the same thing happened as in England a few years earlier (§ 000), that is, workingmen broke up the new machines and to some extent interfered with persons who tried to operate them. In France, before the Revolutions of 1848 (§ 218), there were a very large number of unemployed men, especially in the cities. There was discontent among unemployed persons, and also among those who were made restless by the change from the old industrial order to the new.

General References

Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 100–124.

Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 187–239.

Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 187–235.

Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*.

Wergeland, *History of the Working Classes in France*.

Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrieres* (*Avant* 1789, II, 881–982; *de* 1789 *a* 1870, II, 795–906).

Topics

The French Peasant and His Land: Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 186–191, 199–206; Ogg, *Economic Develop-*

ment of Modern Europe, 187–192; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 187–193.

French Commerce: Day, *A History of Commerce*, 409–413; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 204–211; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 280–288.

Studies

1. Gilds and workers in France before 1789. Wergeland, *History of the Working Classes in France*, 106–109, 123–136.

2. Economic and social conditions in France before 1789. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 359–376.

3. French manufacturers before 1789. Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, 231–236.

4. The peasant in Prussia before 1800. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 200–205.

5. The beet sugar industry in Germany before 1850. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 223–226.

6. Textile manufactures in Germany. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 231–234.

7. Industrial changes in Germany in the nineteenth century. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, 37–46.

Questions

1. Describe the conditions of landholding in France and in central Europe before 1789. Explain what changes occurred after that date in regard to the holding of land in France and in Prussia. Compare landholding in France and in England in the late nineteenth century.

2. Compare agricultural methods and development in France and in Germany before 1800 with those used in either country in the nineteenth century.

3. Account for the fact that the industrial revolution in France was nearly a half century later than in England. Why did the French devote their attention particularly to articles requiring skill and taste?

4. Account for the excellent roads and artificial waterways to be found in France. If French commerce had expanded so rapidly in the eighteenth century, why did it not continue to develop as rapidly in the nineteenth?

5. Show the effect upon German industry and commerce of German disunity and the undeveloped political conditions in that country. What was the character of the industrial revolution which was finally introduced into Germany?

6. To what extent was there individual freedom and enterprise in central and eastern Europe before 1789? in 1850? How did the wages of laborers and their standard of living under the old régime compare with those of the mid-nineteenth century?

7. Describe the legislation for workers in France and Prussia before 1850. (Compare with similar laws in America at the beginning of the twentieth century; with American labor legislation to-day.) Account for the fact that associations of laborers were forbidden in England and on the Continent until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Show the connection between unemployment and discontent of laborers on the Continent with the Revolutions of 1848 which are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS (1830–1849)

France (1815–1848)

Extreme reactionist rule of Charles X (1824–1830)

215. France after the Restoration (1814—1830). — It has been said of the Bourbons who were restored to the throne of France in 1814 that they learned nothing and forgot nothing.[1] Louis XVIII was liberal at first, but changed gradually, especially after the murder of his nephew, the Duke of Berry, in 1820, that first of the *three years of revolution*,[2] 1820, 1830, 1848. Then he fell under the influence of the extreme reactionaries, led by his brother, who became king in 1824 with the title of Charles X. Charles X's rule was at all times severe and reactionary. By 1829 it had become very objectionable and had aroused the opposition of most classes of the people.[3]

[1] France was ruled after 1814 as follows:

Louis XVIII (1814–1824)	Second French Republic (1848–1852)
Charles X (1824–1830)	Napoleon III (1852–1870)
Louis Philippe (1830–1848)	Third French Republic (1870–)

[2] Of the years especially prominent for revolutions, of course the last (1848) was by far the most important. In 1820 revolutions occurred in Spain, in Portugal, and in Italy. In 1820 an insurrection was begun against the arbitrary rule of the restored Spanish King Ferdinand. This revolution spread to other provinces of the Spanish peninsula, and the king was forced to restore the constitution of 1812 and call a meeting of the national parliament. Two years later a French army, with the approval of the Congress of Verona, suppressed the liberal government in Spain (§ 174). In Portugal also there was a revolution at this time.

The people of Italy were misruled and discontented (§ 228). In 1820 the Neapolitans also rose against the rule of their king, named Ferdinand (§ 174).

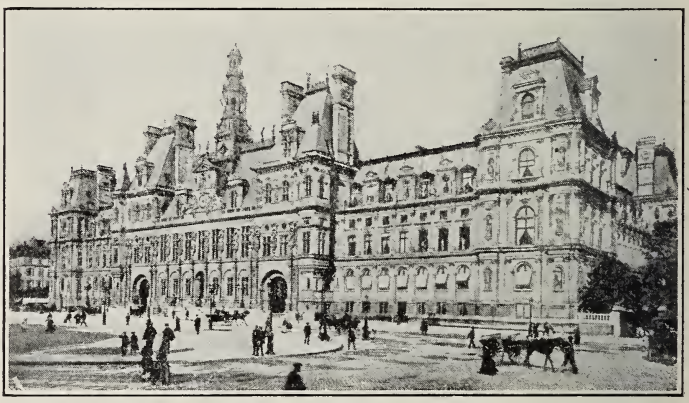
[3] In the French parliament the king was able to control only a small minority of the votes. Since Charles was not able to secure the enact-

The July Days.

When the elections of a new French parliament gave unfavorable results, Charles, on July 26, 1830, issued ordinances which reëstablished censorship of the press, provided for a much higher qualification for voters, and called a new election for parliament, although the recently chosen members had never met.

The July ordinances.

216. The July Revolution in France (1830). — Immediately the newspaper men whose rights were attacked led the opposition to Charles. The people of



The Hôtel de Ville, Paris

Paris, already organized under military leaders, rushed upon the city hall (Hôtel de Ville) and captured it. When the king's army finally entered Paris, the Parisians threw up barricades in the narrow streets and kept them from regaining control of the city. With the Paris mob voicing the cry "no more Bourbons," Charles X was obliged to abdicate in favor of his little grandson, the Count of Cham-bord′ (§ 000), and was forced to leave France.

ment of laws which he desired, in 1830 he emulated the bad example of James II of England. He suspended laws and practically if not legally declared himself above the constitution.

Louis Philippe accepted as the French king.

The revolutionists were united only in their desire to overthrow the late king. The Parisians, who had their headquarters at the Hôtel de Ville, wanted a republic. The newspaper men and Orleanists demanded Louis Phil-ippe′, a cousin of the late king. The *Republicans* were not ready to carry out their plans at once; hence Louis Philippe boldly marched, practically unattended,

A Street Barricade

to their headquarters, and he and his followers won the day. Later he and Lafayette appeared upon the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville; the mob wildly applauded as Lafayette embraced him and he waved the tricolor, the republican flag of France, publicly displayed for the first time in fifteen years. He ruled France until 1848.[1]

[1] The "citizen king" was a plain man who had called himself citizen at the time of the Revolution and had been a member of the revolutionary army. With his green umbrella he was seen almost daily in the Paris

Revolutions outside of France.

The year 1830 was a period of reform, radical change, and revolution to an even greater extent than the year 1820.[1] Beside the July Revolution in France two others were of considerable interest in Europe. These were the revolutions in Belgium which made Belgium independent of Holland (§ 000), and the revolution in Poland which caused that kingdom to lose its independence (§ 000). Russia and Prussia wanted to intervene in order to force Belgium to be again a part of the Dutch Netherlands, but as France and England objected and as the Polish revolution interfered with Russian intervention, Belgium's independence was therefore recognized.

Contrast between growth of liberalism in France and arbitrariness of the government.

217. France Before the Revolution of 1848. — The government of Louis Philippe, like that of the Bourbons which it replaced, was at first liberal; as time passed it grew more despotic, though the people were becoming steadily more liberal. In the years immediately preceding 1848 Louis Philippe's rule therefore grew more and more unpopular. The Republicans had always opposed the *Orleanist monarchy*, and most of the monarchists were

streets without a guard, talking familiarly with workmen. In a democratic manner he sent his sons to a public school. Among the higher classes of the French, however, he was sneeringly referred to as "the king of the barricades." Notwithstanding his democratic ways at home, he was exceedingly ambitious to be recognized by other European monarchs as their equal. It was his misfortune to be snubbed by the rulers of central and eastern Europe; it was also his misfortune to find that his ambitious plans to marry his sons to foreign princesses and to increase the international prestige of France always went awry. In Louis Philippe's reign France prospered; that is more than can be said for the policies of the "July Monarchy" or for the plans of the "citizen king."

[1] In England and elsewhere in Europe we find the spirit of reform dominant in the year 1830. In England it was the time of the great agitation for the reform of Parliament which culminated in the Reform Act of 1832 (§ 000) and of social reforms a few years later (§§ 000–000). In America this period was marked by the beginning of active agitation against negro slavery and by numerous social and political reforms, which tended to bring equality to most white men. Ashley, *American History*, §§ 292, 298.

not satisfied with it. In time the king lost the support of the middle classes, whom he was supposed to favor especially. Most of all was his rule disapproved by the workingmen. As we noticed above (§ 205), France had introduced new machines in agriculture and particularly in industry. Consequently many of the old workers had been thrown out of employment. In the cities factories had been established which gave irregular employment to many thousands but in 1848 the number of unemployed workmen was very large. To the government these common workers looked in vain for help. Practically all of the classes opposed the rule of the "citizen king" and demanded reforms which Louis Philippe's ministers were unwilling to grant. At the beginning of the year 1848 conditions in France were critical.

218. The Revolution of 1848 in France. — The reform leaders met together in banquets, where they discussed necessary reforms in the government. One of the most important of these was planned for Washington's birthday, February 22, 1848. When the government objected to the banquet and the street procession which was to precede it, the reformers agreed to yield, but a typical Paris mob gathered in the Place de la Concorde, demanding reform. Soon afterwards the troops who were guarding Guizot's (Gui-zo[1]) residence fired into a crowd and killed more than a score of people. Some of the corpses were carried about Paris in a cart, the populace crying "vengeance." In rage the people threw up barricades, and rioting against the government occurred in many of the Paris streets. On February 24, Louis Philippe followed the example set by Charles X, and abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris (§ 000). On

Events of February 22–24, 1848.

[1] Louis Philippe's prime minister, Guizot, had been liberal, but before 1848 had been growing constantly more autocratic.

REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

FRANCE	GERMANY	AUSTRIA: BOHEMIA	AUSTRIA: AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA: HUNGARY	NO. ITALY	PAPAL STATES	PRUSSIA
	Rule of Metternich.	RULE OF METTERNICH			Mazzini and Young Italy.	Pope Pius IX, reforms followed by reaction.	
Growing absolute rule of citizen king.	Zollverein (1834). Spread of ideas of nationality and democracy.	SPREAD OF IDEAS OF NATIONALITY					
Revolution, Feb 22, 1848.	Parl. of Frankfort.	Nationalist Czech movement.	Downfall of Metternich.	Kossuth's speech.	Revolution Jan., 1848.		Revolution.
Provisional gov't.	Parl. debates, theories, and some problems.		Windischgratz captures Vienna.	March laws: practically independent of Austria.	Revolt of all northern Italy.		King accepts leadership in Germany.
Second Republic and nat. workshops.	Offered imperial crown to king of Prussia.	Revolution put down by Windischgratz.	Under Jellacic subject races support Austria.		Custozza, July 25.		
General election.	King vacillates.				Austria demands Charles Albert abolish constitution.		
Nat. workshops closed.			Francis Jos. II Emperor.				
New constitution.	Austria reëstablishes Confederation.						
Louis Napoleon President.				March, 1849, declares independence.	New war; Novara, 1849.	The Republic.	"Humiliation of Olmütz."
				Overpowered.			Prussia agrees to follow Austria.
					Victor Emmanuel I succeeds Chas. Albert.		

the same day the Second French Republic was proclaimed, he fled to England.

Two important factions shared control of the new republic, the *liberals* and the *socialists*. The liberals established *national workshops*, advocated by the leading socialist, Louis Blanc,[1] but they organized them, not to carry out Blanc's ideas, but to show that Blanc's plan was doomed to failure. Of course there was little or nothing for the numerous applicants to do, but some were employed digging trenches which were of no special value to any one. They were paid at the rate of two francs a day, and were employed on the average two days a week. This employment, therefore, gave them a weekly wage equivalent to only about two dollars in our money to-day.

The socialists and the "national workshops."

219. End of the Socialist Republic. — In April an election was held to make a constitution for the Second French Republic. The bourgeoisie was disgusted with a republic which had already interfered greatly with business, and the peasants, most of whom already owned land, disapproved state socialism. In Paris the Socialists elected but three of the twenty-four workmen who had been nominated for the constituent assembly. In the country districts they were even less successful.

Elections to the constitutional convention.

A few weeks later the "national workshops" were closed, and the laborers were requested to return to their homes. In Paris the workmen and the mob protested, the national guard was called in, and General Ca-vaignac's' troops fought their way through the barricaded streets until the *insurrection* was suppressed. Thousands were slaughtered; other thousands were transported

The "June Days."

[1] *Blanc* advocated a doctrine which seems less revolutionary in our day than it did seventy-five years ago, namely, the right to work. One of the first acts of the new government was a decree approving Blanc's ideas that the government should provide labor for all citizens. Blanc himself was not allowed to put this idea into practice.

to the colonies. Some of the insurrectionists were sent to prison, still others were shot. These terrible "June days" were remembered with heartbreak not only by workers but by people in general. The French Republic was still in existence, but it was not a republic of the common people.

The constitution and the new national assembly.

220. Organization of the Second French Republic. — The assembly now proceeded to make a new constitution. It decided that suffrage should be universal. It proposed a single legislative chamber, and a president chosen by popular vote for a period of four years, who could not be re-elected. Even at that time the people and their leaders were much divided in their support of the new constitution, and, after a new election, late in 1848, the assembly was not controlled by the republicans at all, for two thirds of its members were monarchists.

Election of Louis Napoleon as French president.

The contest for the presidency of the French Republic was really between General Cavaignac and *Louis Napoleon*, nephew of the great Napoleon Bonaparte. Louis Napoleon had been an adventurer and an unsuccessful adventurer at that. Twice (1836, 1840) he had started insurrections in France which would place him on the throne of that country, but both were unimportant and badly managed. In spite of the fact that he had never been successful, the name Napoleon made a tremendous appeal to the French people, for it meant prestige and military glory. He was chosen from several districts to the assembly; consequently, his election to the presidency was not unexpected. His popular vote was about four times that of his opponent.

Revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe

221. Central Europe in 1848. — We have already noted that central Europe in 1848 was ripe for revolution. There were two great movements of this time which made

any possible revolution far more important in the history of the world than any previous insurrection which might have seemed similar in character. These two may be summarized by the words *nationality* and *democracy*. A nation is a well-organized, united, independent group of people, occupying a definite territory. In 1848 in central Europe there were no nations. There were, however, a number of racial groups, each of which believed that it was a nation and demanded NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. By far the largest and most important of these groups was that which we call the *Germans*, most of whom lived within the limits of the German Confederation of 1815 (§ 165). The second largest race group which had no national organization was that of the *Italians*, which occupied the peninsula known in ancient history at the time of Julius Cæsar as "Italia."

Embryo nations and their demand for national organization.

There were, however, a large number of smaller race groups, for example, the Poles and the Bohemians or Czechs, who were *Slavic races* that lived within the German Confederation. Outside the limits of the German Confederation, but within the dominions of the Austrian Habsburgs, there was the great race of *Mag-yars'*, which we call Hungarian, occupying the central part of the kingdom of Hungary. South or east of the Magyar group were a number of other Slavic races: Serbs, Croats, Tran-syl-va'ni-ans, and others. Each of these races, animated by the spirit of the times, wanted national independence.

Other races in Austrian dominions.

The greatest change of this year of revolutions was the LIBERAL MOVEMENT, the reaction in central Europe against the conservative rule of Metternich. During the thirty years that that able statesman had tried to control European affairs, the liberal or democratic movement had been growing. Particularly in Germany do we find considerable progress in the granting of freedom of speech,

Extent of the liberal movement before 1848.

freedom of the press, and other civil rights by states, some of which had given their people constitutions. In Switzerland the liberals had won a victory over the conservative government of that mountainous country. Not only was Pope Pius IX making reforms in Italy (§ 228), but other monarchs were granting concessions to their subjects in various parts of Europe.

Demand for constitutions and further reform

This movement, practically universal in its scope, was bringing to the people more liberties. As real constitutional progress had been halting, almost every one demanded much more sweeping reforms than had been made; the leaders wanted radical changes, at least, constitutional government, if possible, republics. Naturally, monarchs opposed these innovations, and many of them believed that if they granted constitutions they were not bound by those documents. As Frederick William IV of Prussia declared, "No written sheet of paper shall ever thrust itself like a second providence between the Lord God in heaven and this land."

The overthrow of Metternich.

222. The Revolution of 1848 in Austria and Bohemia. — The news that France had established a republic was brought to Germany rather quickly, for already a few short railway lines had been established and telegraph lines had been erected. A few days later *Vienna* was aroused by a revolutionary speech of Kos'suth in the Hungarian parliament.[1] The Viennese students and populace, already enraged against the harsh rule of Metternich, rose *en masse*. Rioting occurred in the streets. An attack was made upon the palace of Metternich, which was burned by the mob. His life work done, this great statesman, the last leader of the old order, who for thirty

[1] When the news of events in Paris reached Buda-Pesth, the Hungarian diet or parliament, which had been considering radical reforms, was startled by Louis *Kossuth*, whose eloquence in the "baptismal speech of the revolution" stirred not only Hungary but all central Europe.

years had been the conservative guide of Europe, resigned and in disguise fled to that refuge of exiled continental statesmen, England.

National demands of the Czechs; revolt and restoration of Austrian rule.

The overthrow of Metternich influenced the Czechs of *Bohemia* to send to Vienna leaders who asked that the Czech nation be separately organized. They urged that they should have diets annually in their different provinces

Rathhaus, Vienna

and should be granted civil liberties, including freedom of the press and religion. They objected to German being the official language and wanted their education to be Czech rather than German.

Austria again supreme in Bohemia, June, 1848, and in Vienna, (Oct.), 1848.

On June 12, 1848, the Czech militia in Prague killed the wife of the Austrian commander, Win'disch-gratz. The Austrians immediately withdrew, but a few days later bombarded the city, broke up the meetings of the pan-Slavic congress, *i.e.* the congress of all Slavic peoples of Austria, and reëstablished the supremacy of Austria

in Bohemia. This was in point of time the first victory gained by the Austrian government. A few months later the people in *Vienna*, again aroused by the Hungarians, revolted. They in turn were suppressed by the Austrian army under Windischgratz, who regained control of Vienna and placed it under martial law.

The famous "March Laws" of Hungary.

223. Revolt in Hungary. — During this month of March, 1848, famous in the world's annals for its revolutions, the Hungarian diet passed its famous "*March Laws*," which practically created for Hungary a new constitution. They voted themselves a complete ministry, absolutely independent of the ministry which formerly had ruled Austria and Hungary. Annual meetings of the parliament were to be held. Suffrage was made almost universal, civil liberties were granted to all, and the peasant no longer was to pay more than his share of the taxes.

Slav opposition to nationalizing Hungary.

Not only was an attempt made to give Hungary a constitutional government, but the Magyars sought to *nationalize* or unify all Hungary. The Slavs of southern Hungary, who wanted separate national governments for themselves, not a single Magyar government that dominated them, rose against the new Hungarian government. Naturally the rulers of Austria welcomed this rather unexpected help, and later an Austrian force was sent to coöperate with these Slavs against the Hungarians.

Quarrels over Francis Joseph. The Hungarian Republic.

224. Hungarian Independence (1849). — The Austrian emperor believed that the contest could be waged more successfully against Hungary if he were to abdicate. In his place was appointed his nephew, Francis Joseph II, whose long rule lasted until 1916. Francis Joseph was crowned *emperor* of Austria, but the Hungarians did not accept him as *king*.[1] He in turn felt that he was under no obligation to accept and recognize the Hungarian constitution. Open war therefore resulted between the Austrian

[1] See § 000.

and the Hungarian forces. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Austrians, the Hungarians were at first successful. Elated by their apparent victory, the Hungarian diet or parliament, under the leadership of Kossuth, proclaimed a *Hungarian republic* with Kossuth as president.

Overthrow of the Hungarian Republic.

Since the Austrians had failed to conquer the Hungarians with the aid of the Slavs in Austro-Hungarian territory, they now appealed to Slavs outside of the country and asked the tsar of Russia to help them put down the revolution in Hungary (1849). The combined armies of Austria and Russia suppressed the Hungarian republic within a short time. Some of the Hungarian patriots were shot; others were imprisoned or exiled; many fled to foreign countries. Kossuth escaped to Turkey and afterwards made a tour of the United States.

KOSSUTH

Prussian diet (1847). Unrest in Berlin.

225. Revolution in Prussia (1848). — Vienna, Buda-Pesth, and Prague were not the only centers of revolt in March, 1848. In many south German states, especially Baden, constitutions were granted and numerous reforms were begun or promised. In Berlin occurred a crisis due largely to the attitude of the king, Frederick William IV the vacillating. The year before, Frederick William had granted to his subjects a Prussian diet which he called together for consultation, not with the intention that it should influence him greatly. The people

were much disappointed that this diet did not give them really constitutional government and bring them genuine reforms.

Disorder in Berlin (March, 1848).

In March, 1848, rioting occurred in the streets of Berlin. Although it was suppressed by the troops and many lives were lost, the victory was with the populace. Again, as in Paris, corpses were carried through the streets, in Berlin, to the royal palace. The king was forced to view these bodies, removing his hat at the demand of the crowd below.

The Prussian King assumes leadership in Germany.

Later Frederick William placed himself at the head of a procession in which he waved a triumphant banner bearing the old colors of Germany, red, black, and yellow. That same evening the changeable monarch issued this proclamation: "I assume to-day the leadership in the hour of danger; my people will not desert me, and Germany will gather around me with confidence. Prussia henceforth takes the lead in *Germany*." Unfortunately the king did not have the force of character to live up to these brave words.

Calling of the pre-parliament.

226. Failure to Form a German Empire (1848). — Even before the revolution broke out, there had been a movement for the reorganization of the German Confederation. Consequently one of the first developments in that momentous month of March, 1848, had been an effort not simply to reorganize the Confederation but to consolidate a new Germany. This movement took effect when a group of liberals called together a pre-parliament which in turn asked the people of Germany, excluding Austria, to elect by manhood suffrage one delegate for each fifty thousand people. This national assembly or parliament was called for the purpose of uniting Germany and framing a constitution for the new nation.

The meetings of the *national Parliament* were held

in Frankfort. Instead of attending strictly to business and organizing a new government, while their arch-enemy, Austria, was in distress (§§ 222–223), the delegates wasted valuable time talking about a united fatherland, or extolling the virtues of constitutional government, or discussing minor questions. The constitution was finally completed and accepted by twenty-eight of the smaller states, but a strong leader was needed at once. Since an Austrian prince was out of the question, the liberals naturally turned to the king of Prussia. In spite of the statement which Frederick William had made, that he placed himself at the head of a new Germany. he refused to take "out of the gutter" an imperial crown which was offered to him by a parliament elected by the people; he wished to have it granted by the German princes. Without a leader the parliament was lost, especially as the restored monarchs in Germany did not approve its work. When the Prussian delegates withdrew, the work of the parliament really came to an end, although for several months some members continued to meet and discuss questions.

The national Parliament wastes time and finds no leader.

227. The Humiliation of Olmütz. — The failure of the Frankfort parliament to organize a new Germany with a constitutional government left both nationalists and liberals very much disappointed, since all hope of union seemed at an end. The next year (1849), however. *Prussia proposed a German union* under her leadership. This union was rejected by the kingdoms but was accepted by twenty-eight of the still smaller principalities of North Germany. The union was not to include Austria, of course, though it provided for closer connection with Austria than with any other foreign country.

Prussia attempts to organize a union of North Germany.

Naturally Austria objected to a Germany in which she had no direct authority, especially a Germany organized by her rival, Prussia. As she insisted upon the revival

Prussia is forced to abandon all her plans.

of the German Confederation under her own leadership, the two powers came into conflict, and war seemed inevitable. Since Prussia was not properly prepared for war, the Prussian envoy met Prince Schwar'zen-berg at Ol'mütz (1850). As a result of this conference, Prussia backed down absolutely. She agreed to dissolve the new union and to withdraw her troops from Hesse, where they were confronted by the Austrian army, and was forced to accept the restoration of the German Confederation. Indeed, if England had not protested, Austria would have brought her entire non-German population into an enlarged German Confederation. Thus was the humiliation of Prussia made complete.

Italy (1830–1849)

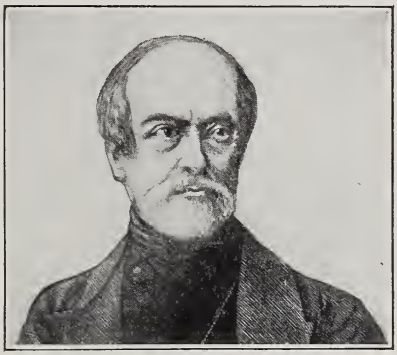
Discontent and the Carbonari.

228. Conditions in Italy before 1848. — In Italy there were discontent, secret organizations, intrigues, and revolution. Before 1848 there was little unity, for, as Metternich said, Italy was simply a geographical expression. Because Austria's influence was supreme throughout the peninsula, the Italians were obliged to organize secret revolutionary societies. One of the earliest and the largest of these was a purely destructive organization, the *Car-bo-na'ri*, which it was estimated in 1820 included one out of every twenty-five persons in the kingdom of Naples, and which sought the overthrow of established governments. The most active revolutions occurred in Naples and Sardinia in 1820 and in the Papal States in 1830.

Mazzini, Risorgimento, and Young Italy.

A scholarly, rather visionary, yet practical leader, named Joseph *Mazzini* (Mat-si'ni) saw that the work of the reformers must not be simply destructive as was that of the Carbonari. There must be something to take the place of the governments which were overthrown. Not only did Mazzini therefore preach a united Italy

and work for the establishment of a republic for the whole peninsula, but to accomplish this object he organized secret societies called *Young Italy*. Before 1848 scholars and leaders were teaching throughout the peninsula a doctrine which they called *ris-or-gi-men'to*, the "resurrection" of Italy; and people everywhere took up the idea that once more there should be a united Italy, this time with a constitutional government.



Mazzini

Reform and revolution in Italy, 1847–1848.

Italian reformers succeeded in interesting the new Pope, *Pius IX*, to such an extent that he introduced many reforms in the Papal States. When these reforms did not work out well, because the radicals abused their new opportunities, Pius became rather reactionary. Some other rulers, however, were also influenced to attempt reform. That more did not do so was probably due to the fact that Austria's power loomed threatening on the horizon. In January, 1848, almost all Italy was seething with revolt, although a united Italy under a constitutional government seemed yet a long way off. Then a revolution broke out in France, and opportunity came not simply to the people of Italy but to those of all central Europe to secure for themselves the new ideals of the period, nationality and democracy.

229. Revolution in Italy (1848). — In Sicily, before the famous Parisian banquet on Washington's birthday, there had been an insurrection which was quelled only

Granting of constitutions in Naples and Sardinia (Jan. and Feb. 1848).

when the king granted a constitution. In Naples somewhat later the people also forced the king to make concessions to them. On February 8, *Sardinia*, which alone had kept itself partly free from Austrian influence, received from her king, Charles Albert, a constitution (*Sta-tu'to*) that was destined to become famous and helped the citizens of Milan rid themselves of Austrian troops.

Demoralization and defeat of the pan-Italian army.

In spite of the fact that Naples sent troops under the leadership of a revolutionary general, and that soldiers came from other states to join Charles Albert of Sardinia, the Italian army was not united and could make no headway against the Austrian commander, Ra-detz'sky. As time passed, the rulers in the central and southern Italian states again regained control of their governments and countries. Inevitably their troops withdrew from the Italian army, leaving the north Italian forces to their fate. In July, 1848, Radetzsky made an attack at *Custozza* (Cus-tod'za) upon the poorly organized remnant of the pan-Italian army and completely defeated it. No peace was made until later.

Italian republics and their problems.

230. End of the Revolution in Italy. — The outlook in Italy, while not favorable to the revolutionists, was nevertheless rather dark for Austria. From Rome the Pope had fled, and a republic had been established. The same thing occurred in Florence, for after the Grand Duke of Tuscany had left, the government was republican. In Venice also a republic had replaced the rule of Austria.[1]

Austria defeats Sardinia again (1849).

In 1849, however, the Austrians with the help of the Russians were regaining control everywhere in Austrian dominions across the Alps. Once more Radetzsky, now reënforced, took the field against the Sardinian

[1] Most of these Italian states were in disorder and confusion, and different factions of republican leaders quarrelled incessantly. Even if Austria had not regained the upper hand in Italy in 1849, probably no one of the republics, except Venice under Daniel Ma-nin', would have proved a success.

king, Charles Albert, and at *No-va'ra* (March 23, 1849) the Italian force was again completely defeated. It was now necessary to make peace. With the hope that better terms would be granted by Austria to Sardinia, Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. In spite of Austrian opposition, the young king kept his constitution.

Restoration of Austrian rule or control.

Austrian influence was rather quickly established again throughout the rest of the peninsula, for the republicans were overthrown easily in Florence and in Rome, and the Venetians, who fought bravely, were of course unsuccessful. By the close of the year 1849 absolutism had been restored throughout the peninsula, and apparently the hope of a free, united Italy under constitutional government had been abandoned for good.

Importance of European Revolutions

Difficulties in abandoning out-of-date social customs and economic methods.

231. The Old Era. — It is unnecessary to repeat details of conditions which existed in Europe before the Age of Revolutions. They were described in the introductory chapter and have been explained under more than one topic. That many of these conditions were medieval, or at least out-of-date, is well known. That those which were built upon privileges of kings, nobles, or clergy could not easily be changed without force or violence is equally certain, for no class ever gives up voluntarily a position of prestige or power. It was almost as difficult to change from old agricultural methods to new as it was to bring new rights to the people. To abandon spinning and weaving by hand, processes used not only by the fathers and grandfathers of those that witnessed the Industrial Revolution, but by scores of preceding generations, was no less than revolutionary.[1]

[1] On the old régime in general see §§ 111–119. On economic conditions in England see §§ 178–182, on the Continent see §§ 199, 210.

Nationality and democracy before 1789.

From the political point of view the contrast between the old order and that which supplanted it was as striking as that in the social or economic field. The dominant principles of the revolutionary era had no place in the old régime. At the close of the eighteenth century these ideas were expressed in the form of sovereignty of the nation and by the expression "liberty, equality, fraternity." In the middle of the nineteenth, they were much the same in substance, for they were embodied in the terms "nationality and democracy." Before 1789, we hear little of these principles. Louis XIV, not the French people, was the state. Even in France the mass of the people, represented in the third estate or not at all, counted for nothing, as Sieyes declared; yet in other countries they were, if possible, even less important. They did not understand the idea of nationality, and they had no practical acquaintance with liberty.

Revolution and changes in the half century before 1848.

232. The Apparent Failure to Get Constitutional Government. — In order to understand the revolutionary movement of 1848, we must study it in relation to the whole revolutionary epoch, of which it was a part. We must see that it represents an attempt of the people of central Europe to throw off burdens which had been galling a half century earlier but were insufferable in the mid-nineteenth century. To the grandfathers of the revolutionists of 1848, serfdom had seemed inevitable, payments to lords a natural thing, and local systems of law or differing local governments unescapable, if not desirable. In a few decades, serfdom had practically disappeared. To the nobles, still the great man of his estate or the village, reverence and courtesy are due, but special privileges are as much in disuse as the suits of armor worn by his medieval ancestors. Instead of thousands of tolls and numerous systems of local law, France, all restrictions removed, has free trade and fairly

uniform legislation. In Austria and in Italy, and especially in Germany, there is hope of these changes.

Success of revolutionists in securing a beginning of their program.

It was the purpose of the leaders of '48 to carry this work much farther; to unify their countries, free the people, and give them a share in their own governments. They asked much, and they were not prepared to perform tasks of such magnitude. Under the oppressive rule of Metternich, they had not been able to communicate with each other, to express their needs and their discontent with their reactionary governments, or to organize for the great work to which they had dedicated themselves. The revolutionists of central Europe were obliged to take advantage of an opportunity to revolt offered by the overthrow of an unpopular French dynasty; but a successful revolution naturally must be caused by internal disorder, not external, or by pronounced weakness in their own governments. Scattered, with different ideals, unable to keep together, they were nevertheless obliged to contend against governments that had dominated all continental Europe, against armies that still obeyed their autocratic rulers. Their success consisted chiefly, therefore, in this: they expressed their common protest against reactionary government and voiced their common demand for nationality and democracy. That, under the circumstances, they should gain the right to organize themselves as nations, and should have a real share in their governments, was not to be expected. A constructive program like theirs could not have been carried into effect in so short a period or under such great difficulties. To destroy takes little time; to build up requires years or generations.

233. Importance of the Age of Revolution. — In spite of its apparent failure the movement of 1848 was a success, and its real success is proved by the fact that it did bring to central Europe both nationality and de-

Development of nationality and democracy after 1848.

mocracy within a comparatively brief period. Before a quarter century had passed, Germany and Italy, politically disunited for centuries, had been built into substantial nations; each had been brought under a single national government. At the time these peoples were united, they did not have a great share in their governments; but they and all other European nations have gradually extended the elective franchise to their subjects (§ 000), and have become more democratic.[1]

Epoch-making changes of the short period from 1789 to 1849.

It is not too much to say, therefore, that the six decades which we have called the Age of Revolution (1789–1849) witnessed the creation of a new Europe. Because the old Europe was practically a Europe that in the preceding centuries had been growing, but outwardly had changed little, these changes were abrupt and radical. Because they were resisted by the institutions that were modified and by the classes who lost rights, privileges, or power, they were of necessity revolutionary. That the revolutionists were successful not only in destroying the old but in creating the new is proof of the necessity and of the wisdom of the new principles. The Age of Revolution was not an age of completed tasks by any means; it was an era of beginnings, for even to-day we have gone but a short way toward the perfection of either nationality or democracy. Liberty, equality, fraternity are still ideals rather than bases on which we have erected modern systems of law or built up social relations.

Discontent and revolution in Europe (1820–1847).

234. Summary. — In spite of Metternich's reactionary policy (§ 173), there were many minor revolutions, especially in Spain and Italy, after 1815. In 1830 the Bourbon government in France was overthrown (the July Revolution) and replaced by the Orleanists (Louis Philippe). Belgium gained her independence from Hol-

[1] Germany has done this to a less extent than other countries, because Germany started with universal manhood suffrage, thanks to Bismarck.

land, but elsewhere revolutions failed, especially in Poland, which lost her constitution. After 1830 there was discontent in Italy, which found expression in the formation of the Carbonari and young Italy, the latter a national secret organization of Mazzini. In 1848 revolutions broke out in Italy before they occurred in France. In the latter country, all classes were dissatisfied with the mediocre but rather arbitrary rule of Louis Philippe and his minister, Guizot.

Revolutions in France, Germany, Hungary, and Italy, 1848.

In February, 1848, Louis Philippe's government, attempting to forbid reform banquets, was overthrown. The Second French Republic was at first organized with national workshops, and Louis Napoleon was chosen president. In Austria, Hungary, in many German states, and in Italy, revolutions broke out in March; Metternich was overthrown, and everywhere the revolts were successful at first. In Hungary, Louis Kossuth led the movements for liberal laws. Italy threatened to unite. At first the Austrian government was helpless and promised constitutions and reforms.

Suppression of the revolutions of 1848 by Austria.

Then the army under Windischgratz regained Bohemia and took Vienna, while Radetzsky conquered Italy. When Francis Joseph II came to the throne, late in 1848, Hungary revolted again and declared herself independent. She was overpowered by the combined armies of her own Slavic peoples, the Austrians, and the Russians. Apparently the revolutions had failed, for the autocratic governments were again in authority. Austria was supreme in Germany and in Italy, except for the moral victory of Victor Emmanuel's refusal to give up his Sardinian constitution, and the German patriots at Frankfort had failed to unite Germany under a constitutional government.

The revolutions, however, had not failed. They rested on the two great ideas of the time, which most people

Apparent failure but real success of the revolutions of 1848.

held but had not been allowed to express, namely, nationality and democracy. Neither was realized at the time, but in later years unity came to Italy and Germany; and to-day practically all Europe believes in universal manhood suffrage.

General References

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 1–10, 53–89.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, 1–14, 16–22, 27–30, 73–114.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 270–324.

Hayes, *Political and Social Development of Modern Europe*, II, 14–20, 50–57, 116–160.

Phillips, *Modern Europe* (Periods, VIII), 168–292.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 103–170, 326–346, 374–448.

Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 603–633, 674–823.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 134–448.

Cambridge Modern History, XI, 22–233.

Topics

The July Revolution in France: Hazen, *Modern European History*, 273–279, 289–292; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 125–234; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 603–619.

Hungary in 1848–1849: Hazen, *History of Modern Europe*, 298–305; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 709, 713, 748–752, 762–770; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 172–173, 180–185, 202–215.

Italy before 1848: Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 188–192, 213–228; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 326–339; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 65–79; Probyn, *Italy*, 1815–1890, 1–70.

Studies

1. France under Louis-Philippe after 1840. Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 145–152.

2. France under bourgeoisie rule. Guerard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, 105–109.

3. The national workshops of 1848. Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 345–357.

4. Liberalism and nationalism in Germany before 1848. Richard, *History of German Civilization*, 459–469.

5. The Revolution of 1848 in Prussia. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 348–352.

6. The Frankfort Parliament (1848–1849). Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, 352–354, 360–369.

7. Kossuth. Latimer, *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, 150–172.

8. Mazzini. Mario, *The Birth of Modern Italy*, Chaps. I–III.

9. Pius IX and Rome (1847–1848). Probyn, *Italy*, 1815–1890, 71–77.

Questions

1. What was the nature of reaction in France after 1815? Was it not inevitable that this reactionary rule should lead to revolution? How much better off were the French people under Louis Philippe after 1830 than under the Bourbon kings?

2. In what respects did the rule of the July monarchy become reactionary before 1848? Describe the factions controlling the Second French Republic and explain why the national workshops were a failure. Was the Second French Republic less of a bourgeoisie government than that of Louis Philippe?

3. Explain each of the two great movements which were popular in central Europe in 1848. Name a few of the races which had not then, and have not yet, obtained for themselves a separate national government.

4. Describe in chronological order the events on the continent of Europe during February and March, 1848.

5. Explain the connection of the following directly or indirectly with the Revolutions of 1848: Metternich, Louis Blanc, Kossuth, Mazzini, Windischgratz, and Radetzsky.

6. To what extent did the Revolutions of 1848 center in Hungary and why? How could the Magyars nationalize Hungary without arousing the opposition of the non-Magyar races of that country? How has that problem been solved since 1848? Would it be possible or wise to grant to-day national independence and separate national governments to each racial group in the Austrian possessions or in southeastern Europe? (Compare § 000.)

7. What was "Germany" before 1848? Could there have been a Germany with two leading and dominating states such as Prussia and Austria? What attempts were made at Frankfort in 1848 and by Prussia in 1849 to form a new German State? Describe the humiliation of Olmütz and show its importance. (Compare §§ 242–243.)

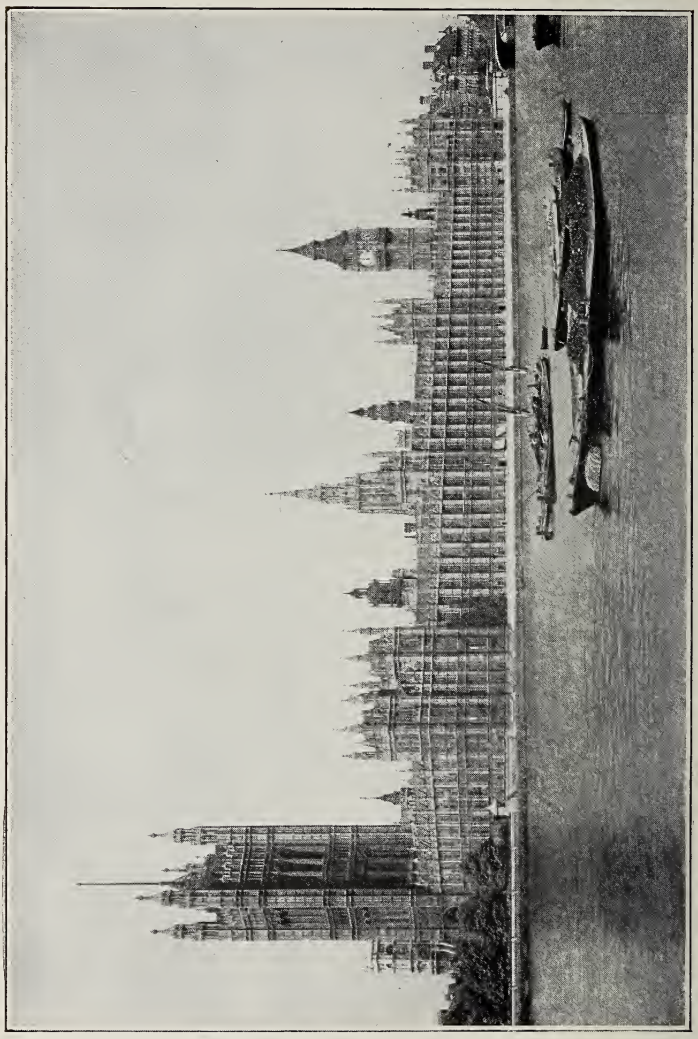
8. Show that Italy before 1848 was only a "geographical expression." What was the work of Mazzini? What was meant by *risorgimento?* Explain the part played in the Italian Revolution of 1848 by Piedmont (Sardinia).

9. Compare the ancient régime with that following the six decades of revolutions, 1789–1849. If the revolutions of 1848 apparently failed to gain either national or constitutional governments, why did it really lead to both? Explain the importance of the Age of Revolution.

10. Compare the conditions, the unrest, and the popular demands in central Europe before 1848 and in central and eastern Europe before 1914. In what countries did revolts break out during the Great War? What was accomplished in each case?

PART III

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1849–1918)



British Houses of Parliament

© Horace K. Turner Co.

CHAPTER XII

NATIONAL UNITY (1849–1871)

The Unification of Italy

235. Constitutional Government in Sardinia. — The unification of Italy followed rather closely the revolutionary movement of 1848. The darkest hour in the history of Italy and of Sardinia, however, came in the spring of 1849, after the defeat of the Sardinian king, Charles Albert, at Novara (§ 230). Then Austria reëstablished both her rule in northern Italy and her supremacy in the Italian kingdoms throughout the peninsula. Sardinia, however, was simply defeated, not conquered.

The situation in Italy in 1849.

The abdication of Charles Albert, who never knew his own mind, in favor of his son *Victor Em-man'u-el*, who not only knew his mind but stood absolutely and unequivocally by his principles, was in itself a great gain for the Italian cause. Victor Emmanuel stood first of all unswervingly for a *united Italy*. Secondly, he stood just as steadfastly by the constitution (*Statuto*) which his father had given Sardinia. Austria offered to grant Sardinia much more favorable terms of peace if she would give up this constitution. It was especially offensive to Austria because it held up before the eyes of Italian liberals a standard of constitutional government which they in turn could demand of their own rulers, but Victor Emmanuel refused the bribe.

Attitude of Victor Emmanuel toward Italy and Austria.

236. Cavour and His Work. — Under the leadership first of d'A-ze'glio and afterward of Count Ca-mil'lo de

Great idea of Cavour.

Ca-vour′, Sardinia developed into a prosperous and successful small Italian state, and prepared to bring the cause of united Italy before Europe in the hope that at least part of Italy might really be united.

Character and early experience of Cavour.

Cavour was one of the remarkable men of this period. He presents that rare combination, a scientist and a practical man of affairs, an independent spirit and a matchless diplomatist. As a young man he had traveled extensively, studying particularly the nature of the industrial, commercial, and political development of England and of France. On his return to Italy he devoted careful attention to his own estate, on which he introduced agricultural improvements. So well managed was this farm that it gave its owner practical experience in the importance of business success and prosperity as the basis of national power.

Cavour

Work of Cavour for Italian business.

As minister of business interests he worked unceasingly during the first three years of his leadership in Sardinia to improve the agriculture and the industry of his country. At the same time he made commercial treaties with Switzerland, France, England, and other countries, in order that foreign trade might be developed. Railways were built in different places and a tunnel was planned through the Alps to connect Sardinia (Piedmont) with France.

237. Cavour Makes Preparation for a United Italy. — It can be seen from these statements that Cavour was building on sound foundations the future greatness of Sardinia and of Italy. He believed in preparedness in the most complete sense, but his *preparedness was not simply economic.* He laid the foundations also for Italy's place among the Powers by gaining *diplomatic friendships* among English and French statesmen. Knowing also that in the last analysis Sardinia and the cause of united Italy would fail unless he could depend upon a *well organized army,* he gave his attention to military affairs. Sardinia under Victor Emmanuel and Cavour might be compared with Prussia under Frederick the Great, because her army was large and efficient out of proportion to her size. Had it not been for the economic development of the country, however, little Sardinia would have been unable to carry successfully the heavy financial burdens imposed by so great a military program.

Military preparation of Sardinia under Cavour.

It was through the army that Cavour was first able to bring the Italian question to the attention of Europe. Since the Italians lacked organization and had more than once failed to free themselves from Austrian rule, Cavour realized that the cause of united Italy must be supported by the European Powers or it would fail. His opportunity came when France and England joined Turkey in making war upon Russia in the *Crimean War* (§ 000). Sardinia sent nearly twenty thousand troops to aid the allies. When peace was to be made, Cavour asked to be admitted to the *council in Paris* (1856) which decided the terms. Not only was he allowed to be present, but with little difficulty he persuaded Napoleon, always anxious to play a large part in European politics, to introduce before the assembled diplomats the question of Italy. The English envoy immediately denounced Austrian interference in Italy as a menace to Europe and asserted

Sardinia takes part in the Crimean War and the subsequent peace council.

that the government of the kingdom of Naples and many smaller Italian states under Austrian supervision was a disgrace to the nineteenth century. Cavour had gained a great victory.

Agreement between Cavour and Napoleon III.

238. The War against Austria. — Cavour realized that the first step in Italian independence must be war with Austria. Sardinia, though aided by other Italian states, had failed in her campaigns against Austria, even when Austria was in difficulties at home (§§ 229, 230). Hence, she needed an ally. Because of the temperament, policies, and ambitions of *Napoleon III*, Cavour was able finally to interest the French emperor in his project. At secret meetings at Plombiéres (Plum-byar′), 1858, Napoleon and Cavour discussed the problem and agreed, as they took drives together, that if Austria made war on Sardinia, Napoleon should come to the aid of Cavour and should free Italy "*from the Alps to the Adriatic.*" [1]

Preliminary events and battles of war with Austria.

It was not easy for Cavour to bring on a war with Austria in which Austria should appear as the aggressor. He was aided, however, by the arbitrary rule of Austria in Italy, by the unrest and discontent throughout the peninsula, and by the continual criticism of Austria which was made by Sardinian leaders and newspapers. After months of effort he succeeded in "baiting" Austria successfully; and Emperor Francis Joseph II demanded the disarmament of Sardinia within three days. Cavour and the Sardinians were overjoyed. On the arrival of Napoleon's forces, the combined French and Sardinian armies marched against the Austrian troops, whose organization and leadership were inefficient. At Ma-

[1] Napoleon had always been interested in Italy, especially in the Revolution of 1831 in which he had taken part. He wished to be a patron of a new state of northern Italy, but was not persuaded to take sides with Cavour until after a fanatic had tried to assassinate him early in 1858. Strangely enough this attempt, instead of turning him against the Italian cause, led him to give it aid.

genta, and later at Sol-fe-ri'no, two decisive defeats were sustained by the Austrians. The latter now withdrew to the famous Quadrilateral, which even the first Napoleon had found difficulty in wresting from his enemies. All Lombardy was now freed.

Peace between Napoleon and Austria.

The success of the Sardinians led the people of the Italian duchies farther south to expel their hated rulers and demand annexation to Sardinia. Napoleon was alarmed. He realized fully the difficulties of driving the Austrians from the Quadrilateral; he was sick of bloodshed; he feared an attack by Prussia along the Rhine boundary; and he was afraid to help the Sardinians create a state which, if it reached from the Alps to the papal states, was bound to give offense to his friend, the Pope. Without consulting his Sardinian allies, he, therefore, made peace with Austria. *Lombardy* was given to Sardinia; but Austria was to keep Venetia, and the princes of the north-central states were to be restored to their thrones.

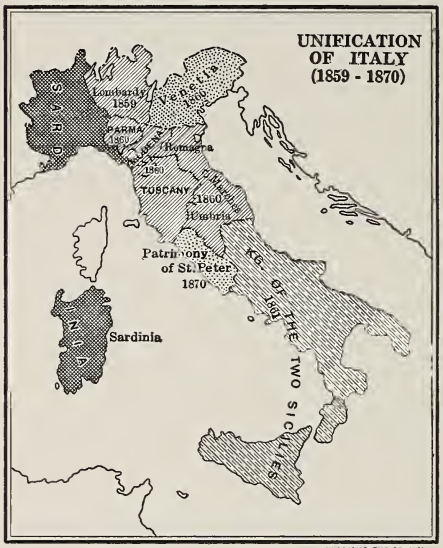
Voluntary annexation of other territories in north Italy.

239. The Union of Italy. — Disappointed and disgusted, Cavour resigned; but Victor Emmanuel, foreseeing the inevitable expansion of the new Sardinia, finally agreed to peace. In this he showed wisdom, because the duchies south of the Po valley refused to take back their rulers, and Austria, influenced by the opposition of England and other countries, decided not to intervene again. Early in 1860 these duchies, *Tuscany*, *Parma*, *and Modena*, and a part of the papal states, known as the *Romagna*, by popular vote asked for annexation to Sardinia and adopted the Sardinian constitution. In this way a new state was formed which included all of Italy north of the Tiber river, with the exception of the province of Venetia.

Southern Italy was not content to remain under Austrian supervision while northern Italy freed itself from the hated rule of the foreigners. Consequently there was

Garibaldi and the conquest of the "Two Sicilies."

great unrest and discontent in the *Kingdom of the Two Sicilies*. In the Island of Sicily the insurrection against the government was aided by a famous Italian patriot, Ga-ri-bal'di.[1] This republican, withal an enthusiastic supporter of Victor Emmanuel, in 1860 gathered together in northern Italy a band of more than a thousand "Red Shirts." Cavour warned him against leaving Genoa, but did not prevent him from sailing for Sicily. By desperate fighting Garibaldi gained control of the island, claiming it for Victor Emmanuel. He then crossed to the mainland, the English and French fleets carefully remaining in ignorance of his movements. Garibaldi was welcomed to Naples by an enthusiastic populace. "The Neapolitan kingdom was not overthrown; it collapsed." He then marched north against the States of the Church, but Victor Emmanuel, anxious not to offend the Pope more



Unification of Italy

[1] Garibaldi had taken part unsuccessfully in former insurrections in Italy. He had then fought for liberty in one of the South American republics. Later he was active in the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848–1849. After those disasters he went to New York where he engaged in business, first as kettle-maker and later as sea merchant. Having amassed a moderate fortune, he bought for himself the Island of Caprera off the Italian coast.

than was necessary, himself occupied the eastern papal states and relieved Garibaldi of the command. By overwhelming majorities the people of *Naples, Sicily, and* all of *the States of the Church,* except the territory around Rome, voted for annexation to Sardinia.

Annexation of Venice (1866).

240. The Kingdom of Italy. — After two years of fighting and intrigue this successful national movement was practically completed, and in 1861 a parliament representing all Italy except Venetia and Rome proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. Soon after, the country lost her great statesman, Cavour, who died at the early age of fifty-one, worn out by the extraordinary exertions of this crisis. For five years Victor Emmanuel and his ministers worked on the problem of making a united kingdom out of these different possessions. In 1866 they were able to strike one last decisive blow against their old enemy, Austria. They aided the Prussians against Austria (§ 246) in the struggle to organize a new Germany. The quick collapse of Austria gave the Italians possession of the province of *Venetia:* the Habsburgs lost their last territories in the peninsula, and ceased to have any real influence in Italy.

Occupation of Rome and trouble with the Vatican.

In 1871 the Franco-Prussian War forced France to withdraw from the city of Rome the troops which Napoleon had kept there for the protection of the Pope for several years. Alone, the papal troops were of course unable to defend Roman soil against the Italians, who soon occupied *Rome.* The capital of modern Italy was then transferred to the capital of the ancient world. The Pope protested against this seizure of his territories, treated the king of Italy as a trespasser, and refused to leave his palace, the Vatican. The enmity between the Pope and the Italian king, begun even before the time of Cavour, has continued practically to the present day (§ 000). The Popes have refused to send ambassadors

The Capitol, Rome, Italy

to the Italian Court or to treat in any way with the usurper of their rights; ever since they have remained "prisoners of the Vatican."

The Unification of Germany

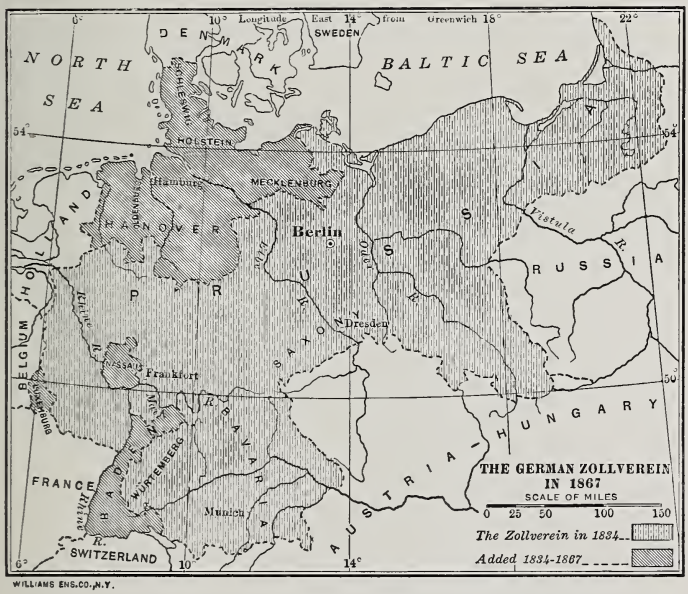
Beginnings of commercial unity under the leadership of Prussia.

241. Commercial Union under Prussia. — It will be remembered that the political disunity of Germany before 1800 was disgraceful. Even after Napoleon's drastic reorganization of Germany (§§ 162–163), the country was not united even against his oppression. After 1815 the German Confederation of 39 states was little more united than the old Holy Roman Empire had been, although the way had been prepared for unity by the destruction of numerous small states. Real unity was not political, nor was it developed under the leadership of Austria; it grew out of economic needs and was worked

out by Prussia. On account of the numerous tariffs within Prussia, that state in 1818 made a uniform tariff for all her scattered possessions. At first Prussia forced some of the petty states whose territories lay between her own scattered possessions to unite with her in a Customs Union, even against their own will. She gave to each their share of the revenues collected at the outside boundaries of the whole Union.

Formation of the Zollverein (1834).

After Prussia had brought in most of the lands which had formerly separated her own territories, she abandoned



a policy of force. Thereafter she tried to persuade other states to enter her *Customs Union*. So pronounced were the advantages of commercial union, and so opposed to Prussian leadership and domination were other states, that two other commercial unions were formed, one in

south Germany and one in central Germany, including important seaports, such as Hamburg. Between 1828 and 1834 most of the states in these other Unions abandoned their own plans and joined with Prussia in the formation of the single commercial Union, which after 1834 was known as the German Zollverein. This included about two thirds of the territory of the present German empire and a population equal to that of the United States fifteen years later.[1] Other states afterwards joined the Zollverein, as shown in the map on the preceding page, but Austria was refused admittance.

Advantages of the Zollverein.

There was a single tariff for the whole Union for commerce with other countries, and within the territory there were no tolls or tariffs. A conference of delegates decided policies and made changes in tariff schedules. The states became accustomed to giving up their own diverse wishes and interests for common advantages. In other words, they learned to unite and coöperate.

Commercial successes and political failures of Prussia before 1855.

242. Austria Loses Leadership in Germany. — Austria was expressly excluded from the Zollverein, for Prussia was determined to oust the great southern state from her traditional leadership in Germany, and was equally determined that commercially, if not politically, there should be a united Germany which Austria did not dominate. In the political field Prussia suffered many defeats, due largely to the vacillating policy of her king, Frederic William IV, in the critical years from 1848 to 1851. Austria's triumph over Prussia at Olmütz (§ 227) was short-lived, for Schwarzenberg died in 1852, and his successors were not men of real ability. Moreover, Prussia was already the leading German state commercially and within ten years was to become such politically.

The Crimean War, in which neither Austria nor Prussia took active part, had an important influence on Germany.

[1] 23,000,000.

In the first place Austria's attempt to look after her *Balkan* interests showed conclusively to the other German peoples that Austria was not distinctively a *German* state. Furthermore, Austria's failures to show herself a great power at this crisis caused her to lose prestige throughout Europe. In Germany she lost the moral influence which had come from her ability under Metternich and Schwarzenberg to direct the affairs of Europe. Consequently after 1856 the smaller German states came more and more to consider Prussia rather than Austria the greatest German power.

Loss of Austrian influence in Germany on account of the Crimean War.

When Frederick William IV was succeeded by his brother William, a new era dawned for Prussia and for Germany. *William I* was a soldier, not brilliant but plain, honest, and straightforward. As a boy he had witnessed the humiliation of his country at Jena (§ 150). As a young man he had fought for Prussia and Germany in the Wars of Liberation. He was determined that Prussia should not again be humiliated as she had been at Olmütz. Since he was a soldier, he naturally looked upon the army as the best means of restoring to Prussia her former influence, but in addition he reorganized the whole central government and put new men at the head of affairs. The greatest of these ministers was von Roon, minister of war, one of the group of soldiers who created the new Prussia. Von Roon was preëminently an organizer. With the consent of King William, he asked the Prussian parliament to call to the army 63,000 recruits each year, instead of 40,000.[1] He wanted also to keep his troops in active service for a longer time than under the older system.

Political and military reorganization under William I.

[1] As noted above (§ 164), the Prussian army after 1807 was made up of 40,000 new recruits each year. These were supposed to serve only two years, and, in spite of the increase of the population of the country the number of recruits each year was still 40,000.

Conflict between king and parliament.

243. The Policy of Blood and Iron. — The Prussian parliament voted the additional money needed for the army because the members thought it would be asked for only one year. When the request was repeated, the lower house declined to vote supplies as the king and von Roon requested. Believing that without a new army his plans for Prussia were doomed to failure, King William in despair wrote out his abdication. At this crisis he was persuaded to appoint as his chancellor a man already known for his ability and decision of character, *Prince Otto von Bismarck.*

William I

Bismarck's experience, character, and policy.

The selection of Bismarck was a disappointment to the German liberals, for he was a pronounced conservative and reactionary. In 1848 he had shown little sympathy with the liberal cause and at no time had he favored constitutional government. Between the Revolutions of 1848 and his appointment as chancellor he had had extensive diplomatic experiences and had gained a clear knowledge of complicated German and European politics. For eight years he had served as Prussian delegate in the diet of the Confederation at Frankfort. Three years at the court of Louis Napoleon had given him practical knowledge of the character and methods of that imperial adventurer. A year at St. Petersburg (Petrograd) had made him familiar in a general way with the Russian statesmen and problems. Bismarck very promptly announced his policy, and in no uncertain terms. He

declared that " Prussia's boundaries, as determined by the Congress of Vienna [§ 171], are not conducive to her wholesome existence as a sovereign state. Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities the mighty problems of the age are solved — that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849 — but by iron and blood." Bismarck meant what he said; these words formed no mere figure of speech, and in a very true sense a policy of " blood and iron " was inaugurated.

Bismarck overrides the Prussian parliament.

Bismarck's first problem was to secure funds for the new army. When the lower house of the Prussian parliament refused to vote these supplies, and the upper house did vote them, the chancellor immediately ruled that the supplies had been voted and raised the money. For four years he and the Prussian parliament were at odds over this question, but in spite of criticism and antagonism, Bismarck found a way to carry through the policies which he had blocked out.

Wars which marked steps in the creation of a New Germany.

The heart of Bismarck's policy was, of course, the *creation of a new Germany under Prussian leadership.* In the accomplishment of this we find three well defined steps, each of which was marked by war. The first was the Danish War (1863) growing out of the Schleswig-Holstein controversy. The second was the Austro-Prussian War (1866), and the third the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) (§ 254), which was really a war between France and Germany, not simply a war of France with Prussia.

Relation of Schleswig and Holstein to Denmark.

244. The Schleswig-Holstein Question. — Schles'wig and Hol'stein were two duchies in the lower part of the Danish peninsula which were under the rule of the Danish king, but were not part of the *kingdom* of *Denmark;* that is, the union between Schleswig and Holstein on the one hand and Denmark on the other was a purely personal union.[1]

[1] Nevertheless *Holstein* had been a member of the German Confederation since 1815. By an agreement of the European powers at London in

However, at this period, as we have noted several times, there was a movement on the part of most countries to nationalize their governments and people. Denmark was influenced by this spirit of the age and sought to consolidate Schleswig and to a degree Holstein with the Danish kingdom proper. As the independence of Schleswig and Holstein was guaranteed by the treaty of London (1852), which had been signed by Prussia and Austria, but not by the German Confederation, Prussia and Austria protested, and the troops of the Confederation entered Holstein.[1]

Conquest of Schleswig and Holstein by Prussia and Austria.

Bismarck wished the help of Austria in the war on Denmark, but he did not want the German *Confederation* to take any part in the struggle. He was able to arrange this plan, and the combined Prussian and Austrian armies occupied the lower part of Denmark.[2] He then persuaded the other European Powers that had signed the Declaration of London to agree that the duchies were not under the king of Denmark. Schleswig and Holstein were then turned over to Prussia and Austria.

1852, Schleswig and Holstein were to be *independent* under the rule of the Danish king. On the death of the ruling Danish monarch, Frederick VII, without heir, Christian of Glücksburg was to become king of Denmark.

[1] At this time the Danish king died and Christian IX became king of Denmark. Christian was forced by the Danish people to carry out the policy of his predecessor, that is, to unite the duchies with Denmark. The German Confederation protested because it believed that the Duke of Augustenburg was the rightful ruler of the duchies. Bismarck wanted to intervene in Schleswig and Holstein, but he did not want the Confederation to take part in this movement. He was able to carry out his plan because he insisted that the Declaration of London should be accepted and that the duchies should not be incorporated in Denmark. He persuaded Austria, which had also signed the treaty of London, to coöperate with him, in spite of the protest of the other states in the Confederation, which had wished the Duke of Augustenburg to be ruler of the duchies.

[2] At first the European Powers upheld the legality of Bismarck's action in invading Denmark, since he was upholding the Declaration of London of 1852. At a new conference of the Powers, called to consider this whole question, it was later decided that it would be wise to abrogate the Declaration of London.

Bismarck's policies in the duchies.

Bismarck immediately insisted that, because the duchies were near Prussia, they should be brought into the Prussian Zollverein and should have their post-offices and other affairs administered by Prussia. He also declared his intention of occupying the harbor of Kiel and of constructing under Prussian auspices a ship canal from the Baltic to the North Sea. In brief, he was determined to use the duchies as an excuse to pick a quarrel with Austria by which he would be able to break up the old Confederation, drive Austria out of it, and form a new confederation without her.

New plan of administering the affairs of the duchies.

245. Bismarck Prepares for War with Austria (1865–1866). — In the year 1865 (by the treaty of Gas'tein) Prussia and Austria agreed that the affairs of Holstein should be administered by Austria while those of Schleswig should be cared for by Prussia. The real object of this was to create friction with Austria.

© *Press Illustrating Service, Inc.*
OTTO VON BISMARCK

Bismarck gains assurance that France and Italy will be neutral.

In the war which Bismarck intended to provoke with Austria, it was necessary that he should be assured of the neutrality of the French government and the neutrality or friendship of Italy. With *Napoleon III* he had a famous interview at Bi-ar-ritz'. Napoleon gave assurance

that he would not take active part in a war, but intimated that he expected territorial compensation if Prussia or Austria gained new lands. Napoleon really believed that if Prussia and Austria became involved in war the struggle for the control of Germany would be so prolonged that, even though not extended as the Thirty Years' War had been [1] two centuries earlier, he might like Richelieu [2] become the arbiter of German affairs and make notable gains for France. After great difficulty, in the spring of 1866, Bismarck succeeded in making an arrangement with *Italy* by which the Italians agreed to help him if, within three months, war broke out between Austria and Prussia. The Iron Chancellor now made it his first business to see that such a war did occur.

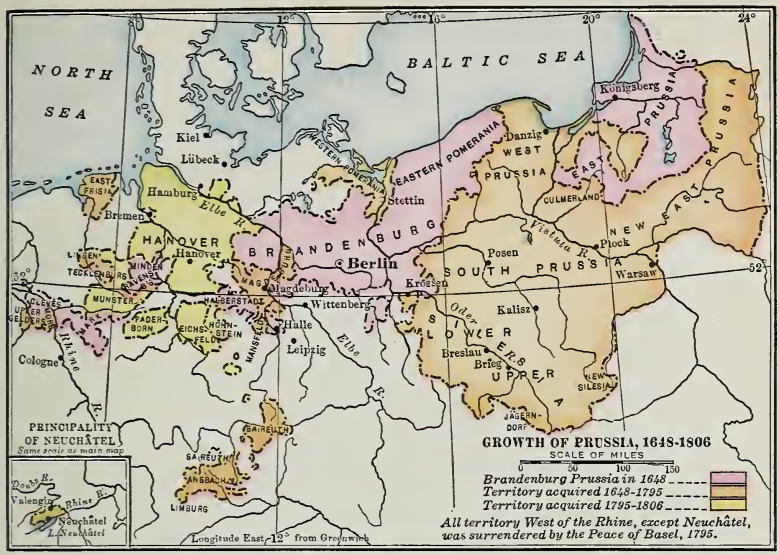
Mobilization and disarmament.

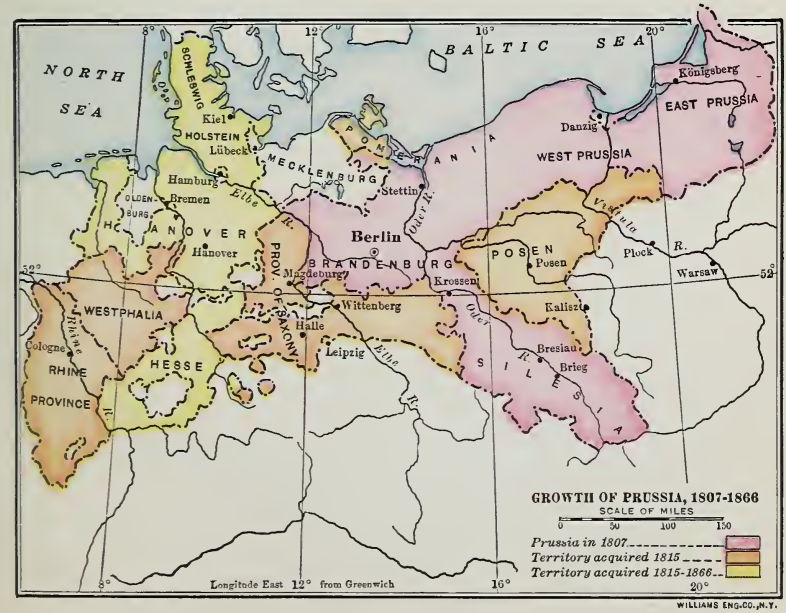
The Schleswig-Holstein Question, of course, furnished the pretext. The Prussian governor of Schleswig was able to make repeated complaints that Austria's rule in Holstein was not what it should be. Both Austria and Prussia began to get their armies in readiness for trouble. Then it was proposed and agreed that both should disarm; but the mobilization of Italian troops near the border of Venetia was thought by Austria to be sufficient excuse for reorganizing her army and stationing it near the Adriatic Sea.

Events in the German Diet and on the battle field.

246. The Austro-Prussian War (1866). — Prussia immediately used this as a pretext and armed again. Austria then tried to bring the Schleswig question before the German diet. Prussia insisted that Austria was failing to keep her treaty agreements. All Germany, foreseeing a crisis, began to prepare for war. On June 11 the German diet, at the request of Austria, began to organize the Confederation army in order to punish Prussia. Prussia treated this action as a declaration of war; she forthwith declared the Confederation dissolved and proposed a

[1] E. E. C., §§ 704–707. [2] E. E. C., § 703.





WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

new organization for Germany. Within a few days her armies had overrun Hanover and other of the smaller German states which had made common cause with Austria against Prussia. Three Prussian armies now prepared a "drive" on the Austrians. By skillful campaigning they united, and at *Sa'do-wa* near *Ko-nig-grätz* they met an equal number of Austrians, whom they defeated decisively.

Bismarck's foresighted policy toward Austria.

When von Moltke informed the king that "your Majesty has won not only the battle but the entire campaign," Bismarck is reported to have said: "Now we must endeavor to establish the old friendship with Austria." This remark showed that, although he wished to defeat Austria and drive her out of the Confederation and organize a new confederation without her, he wished to retain her friendship. After all, Austria was a German state, useful against Russian enemies on the east and French opponents on the west.

Territorial changes of the war.

In point of fact, Austria was merely forced to give Venetia to the Italians and was not humiliated in any real way. The Italians were deserving of this help because their army had kept a large Austrian force occupied and had thus enabled the Prussian generals to win at Sadowa. Although Prussia did not take any Austrian territory, she did absorb some of Saxony, and Holstein as well as Schleswig. In addition she annexed Hanover, the free city of Frankfort, and some of the smaller German states.

Formation of a federal state in north Germany.

247. The North German Confederation. — The year after the Austro-Prussian War, popularly known as the Seven Weeks' War, because of its short duration, all German states north of the river Main formed a new united Germany, called the North German Confederation. This was not truly a confederation; it was really a federal state. The hereditary president of the organi-

zation was to be the king of Prussia. There was to be a *federal council* (*Bundesrath*) (Boon'dez-rat) made up of princes or delegates of princes from the different states and a lower house elected by universal suffrage. Provision was made for the admission of the South German states of Bavaria, Würtemburg, Baden, and Hesse without amendment of the constitution of the Confederation.

Organization of a commercial German empire (1868).

Soon after, the Zollverein was reorganized and the members from the South German states were admitted to both the federal council and the lower house in order to look after commercial affairs of the Zollverein. Commercially, therefore, the German Empire was organized as early as 1868.

The Second French Empire and German Unity

Restriction of suffrage by the French Republic.

248. Louis Napoleon Dictator of France. — The completion of German unity, that is, the organization of the present German Empire (1871), was accomplished by Bismarck through a war with France. He was able to bring this about by shrewd and unscrupulous negotiations with the French emperor, Louis Napoleon, who was ambitious and at the same time rather short-sighted. To understand the story it is advisable to consider first the history of France in the twenty years following the Revolutions of 1848. As we

Napoleon III

noticed above (§ 220), the *Second French Republic* was organized in December, 1848, with *Louis Napoleon as President*. One of the first acts of the new government showed that it did not trust the common people, for it abolished universal manhood suffrage and allowed only those to vote who had lived and paid taxes in their commune for three years.

How Napoleon gained new supporters.

Louis Napoleon, being a good politician, opposed this change and made himself more popular with the people than before. In addition he tried to keep the support of the middle classes by encouraging industry and trade. By restoring the control of the schools to churchmen, and by supporting the Pope and the church in other ways, he was able to count on the support of the clericals.

Establishment of a dictatorship (1851) and an empire (1852).

By 1851 the Second Republic, with the exception of President Louis Napoleon, was comparatively unpopular in France. The President therefore decided to make himself dictator of the country. On December 2, 1851, the anniversary of his great uncle's military victory at Austerlitz (§ 149), Louis Napoleon, by a *coup d'état* (stroke of state), established a dictatorship, and reëstablished universal suffrage. On that morning all prominent republicans were arrested and temporarily imprisoned. Napoleon at once appealed to the people to support him in this arbitrary action, which he declared to be for the best interests of France. In a *plebiscite* the people voted by an overwhelming majority to support him and authorized him to frame a new constitution. By this constitution the government of the country was really vested in Louis Napoleon, but the people thought that they were having more power than before, because every man was allowed to vote. On December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the *coup d'état*, Napoleon took a final step by declaring that the Second French Republic had been replaced by an empire; he assumed the title

Napoleon III.[1] This "*Second Empire*" lasted until 1870.

Popularity and marriage of Napoleon.

249. The Work of Louis Napoleon for France. — As emperor Louis Napoleon was at first more politic, more popular, and more successful than he had been as president. He was exceedingly affable and approachable at practically all times, but his experiences had shown him the wisdom of keeping his plans to himself. His popularity and his success were increased by his marriage to a brilliant and charming Spanish princess, Eugenie, who made his court the most attractive in Europe.

Empress Eugenie

Encouragement of business and protection of labor.

Being himself a good politician and aided by so skillful an empress, Louis Napoleon proceeded to add to his popularity in France by working for the prosperity of the country. In the largest seaports fine docks were constructed. The building of railways, which had been neither long nor numerous when he became emperor, was encouraged, as was the further introduction of the telegraph. New roads were opened, some rivers were made more easily navigable, and canals were constructed in various parts of France. In order to encourage the investment of capital in agriculture, industry, and these other enterprises, Napoleon permitted new banking organizations to be formed which loaned money to those who wished to

[1] The honorary title Napoleon II had been granted to the infant son of Napoleon I and Maria Louisa.

start businesses, or to landed proprietors who wished to introduce new crops or improvements. In order that the workmen might not feel that more was being done for capital than for labor, laws were passed to benefit disabled or needy workers.

Boulevard system in Paris.

Under the able guidance of Baron Haussmann, Paris was replanned and to a certain extent rebuilt; on the site of the old walls a ring of boulevards was constructed, wide and beautifully paved. In order that these fine streets might be properly shaded, large trees were transplanted bodily from the neighboring forests. Along these boulevards buildings were required by law to be of fairly uniform height and character. To Haussmann, Paris owes much of the charm of its boulevard system to-day.

Ambition of Napoleon to be the arbiter of European affairs.

250. Napoleon III as the Arbiter of European Affairs. — Napoleon was not satisfied to be the first man in France, he wanted to be considered, as his uncle had been, the greatest ruler of Europe. In spite of his repeated declaration that "*the empire means peace*," his ambition to be the arbiter of European affairs led to numerous wars. Since he wished to be the *deus ex machina*, the directing deity who solved the international problems of Europe, and since he believed thoroughly in the doctrines of '48 that every race had a right to organize itself as a nation, Louis Napoleon easily became a meddler. If, in the end, his plans failed to succeed, other statesmen, possibly more unscrupulous than himself, made him the scapegoat. At first, however, he was quite successful. As the self-appointed defender of the holy places in Jerusalem, together with England, he made war upon Russia in a Crimean war (1854–1856) (§ 000).

Misunderstanding with the Italians.

251. Failures of Louis Napoleon. — The failures of Louis Napoleon seem to begin with his failure to free the Italians (§ 238). He went far enough to offend Austria and the Pope; but his unwillingness to go as far as he

had promised lost him the cordial friendship of the Italian race, whom he really had aided.

Failure of French plans in Mexico.

His first conspicuous failure, however, was not in Italy, but in America. Here the ambition to establish a colonial empire led him astray. In 1859 the Mexican government had refused to pay the debts which it owed abroad; consequently several European countries united to compel payment. After the debts had been settled, troops which had been sent to Mexico were kept there by Napoleon. In order to gain the friendship of Austria, he persuaded the younger brother of Francis Joseph II, the Archduke Max-i-mil'i-an, to accept the throne as emperor of Mexico. Since the United States was engaged in the Civil War, it could do no more at the time than protest against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine. When the war closed, however, France was told to withdraw from Mexico the French troops that kept Maximilian on the Mexican throne. This was done without great delay, and Maximilian, left without military support, was overpowered by the great Mexican patriot Benito Juarez (Hu-ä'rez) and put to death. This failure in Mexico was a great blow to the pride and prestige of the "Second Empire."

Relations with Bismarck.

Not in southern Europe nor in America, however, was Napoleon's humiliation to be completed. His downfall was due directly to his relations with the Prussian empire builder, Bismarck. The story of how he was outwitted in negotiations by the Iron Chancellor and how his armies were defeated by the efficient military machine of Roon and Moltke, is the story of Germany rather than of France.[1] Napoleon desired to obtain for France more

[1] An adventurer and a politician who was visionary and ambitious, the third Napoleon was treated with more or less contempt by his contemporaries and was popularly dubbed "Napoleon the Little" in contrast with his great uncle. Nevertheless Napoleon was a man of big ideas and a ruler of no little ability. He understood his times quite

territory in the Rhine valley. He was also anxious to be consulted by the German statesmen about the numerous and important changes that were occurring in the German Confederation (§§ 243–247).

Attempts connected with the Austro-Prussian War.

252. Napoleon's Attempts to get Territorial Compensation on the Rhine. — In the interview with Bismarck at Biarritz (§ 245), Napoleon had intimated that he expected territorial compensations as the price of his neutrality in a war between Prussia and Austria. He had tried also to secure from Austria promises that he should have certain territories in case of war. Later, after the battle of Sadowa (§ 246), when he was selected as mediator between the warring nations, he tried to dictate what new territory Prussia should have, what Austria should give up and receive, and what should be given to France as her share.

Napoleon's desire for territory as "revenge for Sadowa."

Although Napoleon had failed to get any Rhine territory as a result of the struggle between Austria and Prussia, he was not satisfied to accept his failure as final. He proposed to Bismarck that France should annex the duchy of Luxemburg, paying for it a sum to the king of Holland, by whom the duchy was ruled. This fell through. He also asked that Belgium be granted to him, and Bismarck led the French emperor on without committing himself, in order that later he might expose to Europe Napoleon's ambition and double-dealing. The facts were made public at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, and aroused public sentiment against Napoleon in many countries. Meanwhile the ambition and cupidity of the French emperor were used by the wily Bismarck as means for securing the aid of the South German states, who feared Napoleon's scheme for territorial expansion in the Rhine valley.

well and the impression which he made upon them was equaled by comparatively few of the statesmen of his day.

How Napoleon III was outwitted by Bismarck.

253. Napoleon vs. Bismarck. — Napoleon had been completely outwitted by Bismarck, first, by allowing a powerful new state to be organized with territories on both banks of the Rhine river, which France looked upon as her natural eastern boundary; and secondly, by giving Bismarck proof of his greed for territory on the east, without getting any territory.

The Hohenzollern candidacy and the Ems dispatch.

Bismarck finally so outplayed France in the game of diplomacy that in 1870 France declared war against Prussia, which was exactly what Bismarck wanted. In 1868 the republicans of Spain had driven their king from his throne. In 1869 the throne was offered to Leopold, a prince of the house of Hohenzollern, though of a different branch from that to which the king of Prussia belonged. France naturally objected, because she did not wish even distant relatives to reign in countries on either side of her. Leopold agreed not to be a candidate for the Spanish throne, and France should have been content. Instead, Napoleon allowed his foreign secretary to send to King William a demand that Leopold's candidacy should never be renewed. William refused to give such a promise. Bismarck, seeing his opportunity, sent a telegram condensing the reply of the Prussian king. This famous *Ems dispatch* gave the French the erroneous impression that their ambassador had been insulted by the king. France immediately declared war against Prussia. Napoleon alone of those high in authority realized that the French army was in no condition to meet the trained Prussian troops, as all his attempts to prepare his army better had come to naught.

Disparity in preparedness of the opponents.

254. The Franco-German War (1870–1871). — Confident, without allies, France made war on the first military power of Europe, carefully prepared for this war which she had deliberately provoked. It is said that the Prussian war office had a map of every road in France. Beside her great

EUROPE
1870
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finland
Petrograd
Novgorod
Riga
Moscow
Vilna
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Warsaw
Kiev
Poland
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Bremen
Hamburg
NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Berlin
Dresden
Breslau
Leipzig
Cologne
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
Rhine R.
Prague
Cracow
BAVARIA
Munich
Vienna
Carpathian Mts.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Buda Pest
Danube R.
RUMANIA
Crimea
Caucasus Mts.
Sebastopol
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Bulgaria
SERVIA
Belgrade
Bosnia
MONTENEGRO
Sofia
TURKEY
Adrianople
Balkan Mts.
Saloniki
Smyrna
ASIA MINOR
GREECE
Athens
Morea
CYPRUS
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palermo
SICILY
MALTA
Naples
Brindisi
Florence
Rome
PAPAL STATES
Venice
ADRIATIC SEA
Genoa
Milan
Turin
Geneva
SWITZERLAND
Alps Mts.
Bern
Lyons
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Marseilles
Barcelona
Pyrenees Mts.
Ebro R.
Duero R.
Tagus R.
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Oporto
Cadiz
Seville
Gibraltar
Algiers
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Finisterre
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
Ireland
Belfast
Dublin
Liverpool
Manchester
Wales
England
Cork
Aberdeen
Dundee
Edinburgh
Glasgow
London
Thames R.
Paris
Seine R.
Rouen
Sedan
Metz
Brest
Nantes
Orleans
Loire R.
FRANCE
Havre
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
WILLIAMS ENG. CO., N.Y.

army, equipped with modern guns, highly organized, commanded by von *Moltke*, the greatest strategist since Napoleon's time, Prussia had the support of the North German Confederation and the states of South Germany.

French disasters in the fall of 1870.

The French plan of invading Germany was abandoned at the beginning of the war. In four great divisions the German veterans crossed the Rhine and invaded France. The principal French army was besieged in the fortified city of *Metz*, where it could be of no possible service. Napoleon tried to stop the invaders; at *Se-dan'* his army was surrounded and captured, and the emperor himself was taken.[1] *Paris* was now besieged, Metz was captured with a French army of 180,000 officers and men, and the new army[2] that was hastening to the relief

Moltke

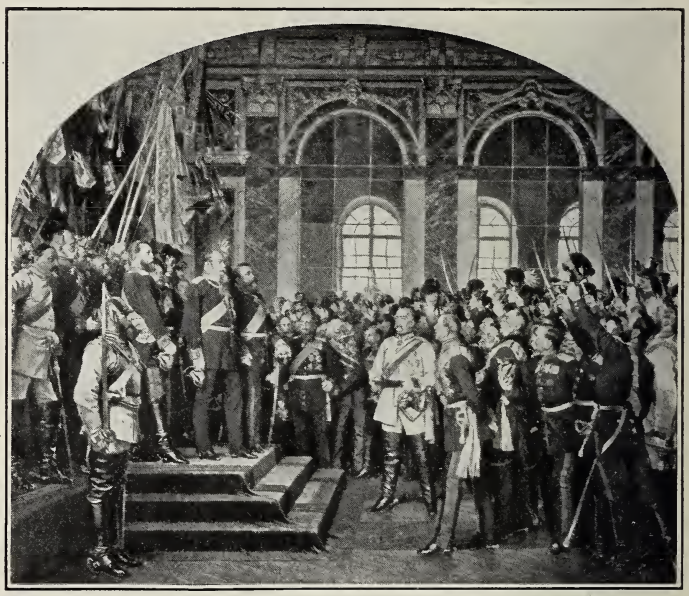
[1] A republic was proclaimed at Paris (§ 000), Sept. 4, on receipt of the news from Sedan, since the capture of the French emperor left the government without a head.

[2] Leon Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon. By his enthusiasm and eloquence, he inspired the French to organize citizen armies which included twice as many troops as had confronted the Germans at Metz and Sedan. They were however poorly equipped and led by inexperienced generals. The chief of these citizen forces was the Army of the Loire.

of Paris was defeated. Notwithstanding these reverses, the republic which had been proclaimed for France rejected the harsh terms of peace offered by Bismarck.

Siege of Paris and Treaty of Frankfort.

After a siege of several months, the Germans began to bombard Paris. Food was so scarce that rats sold for forty cents each. Wood was exhausted, although many trees were cut down, and most of the fires in the city



Proclamation of William I as German Emperor, Versailles, 1871

during the bitter cold of January, 1871, were started by the bursting of the German shells. Meanwhile the German princes had agreed to create a larger political organization to be known as the *German Empire*. On January 18, 1871, William of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles. After Paris surrendered, in the *Treaty of Frankfort* (1871), France

accepted the harsh and humiliating terms demanded by Bismarck. An indemnity of one thousand million dollars was to be paid and *Alsace* with part of *Lorraine* was to be ceded to the newly organized German Empire,[1] which in this way excluded France entirely from the valley of the Rhine. German troops were to remain in France

Bismarck Announcing Terms of Peace, 1871

until the indemnity was paid, a humiliation which aroused French patriots and led to the rapid cancellation of the heavy debt. France never forgave Germany for the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine (§ 000).

Unification of Italy.

255. Summary. — The two Napoleons greatly aided Italy in arousing the national sentiment of the country and wresting northern Italy from Austrian rule, but uni-

[1] Bismarck desired the cession of these provinces because, as he asserted, there had been, in the preceding centuries, more than a hundred invasions of Germany through the gap in the hills near Metz. Lorraine has also very valuable deposits of iron.

fication was the work chiefly of the Italians themselves, especially of Mazzini, of the society of Young Italy, and of Victor Emmanuel, who clung to Sardinia's constitution and to his idea of Italian unity. By his diplomacy Cavour gained the friendship of England and France and made other Italian states willing to unite with Sardinia. The war with Austria added Lombardy directly and all north-central Italy indirectly. Garibaldi and his forces occupied Sicily and Naples, which next voted to join Sardinia. In 1866 Venetia was added, and in 1871 Rome. All Italy was then united under the house of Savoy, which rules it at present.

Unification of Germany — first phases.

German unification had been the dream of thinkers and statesmen for more than two generations. It occurred under the leadership of Prussia, which was an autocratically governed state, the largest of North Germany. She first brought all northern and central Germany together in a commercial union, the *Zollverein*. She then schemed to replace Austria as the first German state. To do this, under the new king William I, she organized a fine army (Prussian traditions favored militarism) against the wishes of the Prussian parliament. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, then proceeded to provoke three wars by means of which Germany (without Austria) was united. The first of these was the Danish war, which took from Denmark the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Prussia controlled one, Austria the other. Quarrels over the proper administration of affairs in the duchies gave excuse for the Austro-Prussian war (1866), which really lasted but three weeks, when the Austrians were defeated at Sadowa.

Second French Empire of Louis Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon, president of the Second French Republic, made himself popular and in 1851 by a *coup d'état* established himself as dictator. In 1852 he was declared emperor with the title of Napoleon III. He aided business at home; abroad he favored the idea that each race

should form a nation, and tried to make himself arbiter of international affairs. In the last years of his reign his government was quite autocratic in France and his international policies did not prosper in Italy, in Mexico, and in Germany; he was outwitted by Bismarck in all his dealings with that crafty statesman.

Unification of Germany (1866–1891.)

Napoleon, greedy for more land along the Rhine, and French politicians, determined that no prince with the title Hohenzollern should sit on the Spanish throne, gave Germany excuse to invade and crush the Second Empire, boastful but really unprepared. Sedan, Metz, and Paris followed in rapid succession. Citizen armies failed to defeat German veterans, of course. France, prostrate, was forced to pay five billion francs as indemnity and to yield Alsace with part of Lorraine; and the Alsace-Lorraine question has kept Europe in ferment for more than a generation. At Versailles in January, 1871, the South German states joined the North German Confederation and formed the German Empire.

General References

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 325–362.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 150–210.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 170–184, 344–363, 448–484.

Phillips, *Modern Europe* (Periods, VIII), 293–489.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 1–277.

Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 824–1019.

Cambridge Modern History, XI, 286–308, 366–506, 529–549, 576–612.

Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe.*

Topics

Cavour: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Cavour"; Latimer, *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, 183–188, 199–200, 212–214, 238–245; Orsi, *Cavour.*

The Zollverein: Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 451–454; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 212–217; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 297–301.

The Austro-Prussian War: Henderson, *A Short History of Germany*, II, 398–410; Baring Gould, *Germany*, 388–394; Hawksworth, *The Last Century in Europe*, 308–328; Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 211–275.

Studies

1. Conditions in Austrianized Italy. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, Chapter VII.
2. Activity of the Reds in Italy after 1848. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, Chapter X.
3. The Powers at Paris, 1856. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, Chapter XIV.
4. How Cavour prepared for war with Austria. Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 111–120.
5. The work of Garibaldi. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 163–177.
6. The policy of blood and iron. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany*, II, 379–398.
7. The Schleswig-Holstein question. Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 466–469.
8. Sadowa. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 237–246.
9. Napoleon III. Thayer, *Throne Makers*, 44–78.
10. Coup d'état of Dec. 2, 1851, in *Scribner's* Magazine, 38 (1905), 417–423.
11. Napoleon's loss of prestige after 1860. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 175–180.
12. The Ems Dispatch. Schevill, *The Making of Modern Germany*, 235–242.
13. Sedan. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 329–341.
14. Paris in war time. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 350–367.

Questions

1. What was the importance of Victor Emmanuel's determination to keep a constitution? In what ways did Cavour aid the king of Sardinia in planning for a united Italy? (Consider work in Sardinia, relations with France, and participation in the European council in Paris, 1856.)

2. What was the attitude of Austria toward Italy from 1815 to 1860? Why did Napoleon III at first help the Italians against Austria and then withdraw his aid? Account for the fact that all northern Italy desired annexation to Sardinia. Explain the causes of the annexation later of (*a*) the kingdom of the two Sicilies, (*b*) of Venetia, (*c*) of Rome and the surrounding territory. How do you account for the remarkable achievements by which the whole peninsula of Italy was united into a single kingdom within a period of twelve years?

3. Explain the political condition of Germany before 1800 (§ 160). To what extent was the German Confederation after 1815 more successful in uniting the German people than the old Holy Roman Empire had been? For what reasons did northern Germany organize a Zollverein, and what was its significance?

4. Explain the position before 1815 of Prussia as a German power. Show how the events of the ten years following the humiliation of Olmütz favored Prussian rather than Austrian leadership in Germany. What was the work done by William I and Roon for Prussian headship?

5. Who was Bismarck? Explain carefully what is meant by his policy of "Blood and Iron." Describe his quarrel with the Prussian lower house over money for the army. What were the three steps by which Bismarck developed a united Germany?

6. Explain the Schleswig-Holstein question and describe the Danish War. Show how Bismarck used the Danish duchies as an excuse to pick a quarrel with Austria. Describe the Seven Weeks' War, and explain the nature of the North German Confederation organized in 1867.

7. Who was Louis Napoleon? What qualities did he possess which made him a rather successful ruler of France and for ten years the arbiter of general European affairs? How did Louis Napoleon become first president of France, then dictator, then Emperor Napoleon III? What work did he do for France? Why was he at first successful and later a failure in his attempt to manage European affairs?

8. Describe the different negotiations between Napoleon and Bismarck over territorial "compensation" of France along the Rhine. How was the ambition of Napoleon for additional territory used against him by Bismarck in 1870? Describe the negotiations between Bismarck and Napoleon over the Hohenzollern candidacy for the Spanish throne. Show the

part played by the famous Ems dispatch in bringing on war between France and Prussia.

9. Describe the German invasion of France in 1870. Show how the French lost their two main armies. Describe the siege of Paris and French attempts to raise new armies. Name the provisions of the Treaty of Frankfort and show why Bismarck demanded Alsace-Lorraine. Why has the cession of Alsace-Lorraine remained a cause of dissension to the present day?

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 027 211 093 1